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13 April 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Crackdown on Leipzig Dissidents Reported 230000126 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum: "Graveyard Silence: A Tried and True Method. SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany (GDR) Tries To Repeat Berlin Methods in Controlling Protests in Leipzig"]

[Text] Berlin—Prayers for intercession at "an information oriented devotional service" held in the common room of East Berlin's downtown Elisabeth Church started with these words: "The situation we are in is very familiar to us. Please strengthen our perseverance and solidarity." The prayer leader then turned to several young people from Leipzig aged 18-25 years for whose sake 250 people had come to the church this Wednesday night. For almost a week now, seven young people have been imprisoned in Leipzig. The prosecution has charged them under Section 215 of the GDR's penal code "with obstructing political and social activities." Another five spent 3 to 4 days in prison under the same charges. Even though they were eventually set free, preliminary proceedings against them are still in effect. To "church groups" in East Berlin the situation is indeed familiar. Just about a year ago, they had congregated every evening in East Berlin's churches to show their solidarity with the young people who had been arrested after they had attended a commemorative gathering for Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the two communist leaders who were murdered in 1919. Most of the ones arrested then are now in the West. This year in Leipzig, State Security took no chances. Raids started the night of January 12. GDR security police showed up at the doorstep of 19-year-old Carola Bornschlegel. They presented her with an arrest warrant and took her away. At 3 o'clock in the morning they came for Udo Hartmann, aged 26. On the afternoon of the same day, they took in Uwe Schwabe, an orderly at a retirement home. The wave of arrests continued until Friday. In the morning they arrested 22-year-old Konstanze Wolf, a nurse, and in the afternoon Frank Sellenthin, a carpenter, and Rainer Mueller, a theology student, both 22 years old. In the evening State Security knocked on the doors of Gesine Oltmann, an employee of the German Music Publishing House, and of Michael Arnold, a student of dentistry. Both are 24 years old. Theology student Jochen Laessig, aged 27, was arrested as well. On Saturday, 25-year-old Andre Bots and 18-year-old Michaela Ziegs, an education student, were ordered to appear before State Security in the Leipzig Barfussgaesschen, south of Friedrich Engels Platz [Square]. Somebody witnessed the arrest of Rainer Mueller. When Mueller asked State Security whether they had an arrest warrant or were only taking him into preliminary custody, he received no answer. He then sat down on the pavement and had to be carried into a waiting car. The detainees are well known in Leipzig. They are members of "Aktion Suehnezeichen" [Action for Conciliation], "Initiative

Leben" [Initiative for Life] and "Arbeitsgruppe Gerechtigkeit" [Working Group for Justice]. The latter is "tied"—as someone in the Elisabethkirche once put it—to the Seminary in Leipzig. The working group was the result of last year's demonstrations of solidarity with those arrested in East Berlin. It deals with problems involving human rights in the GDR and in other East European countries, with problems involving exit visas, and with developments in Czechoslovakia since 1968. On 5 June 1988, members of the group took part in the "Pleisse Memorial March." About 60 people marched along the river that flows through Leipzig to draw attention to its polluted waters. The group organized meetings of human rights and peace groups from all over the GDR in Leipzig, a town known for trade fairs. It also arranged to have the prayer for peace heard every morning in the Nikolai Church. Whenever a fair is in progress, the peace prayer commands international attention because of the many journalists that had flock to the shores of the Pleisse River. "Initiative Leben" was founded back in 1979. It concerns itself mostly with environmental issues because Leipzig skirts the edges of a brown coal mining region. The group organized the "Pleisse March" and soon its concerns with "purely environmental issues" broadened into considerations of necessary changes in the social structure of the GDR. But it was not only the "Pleisse March" that alerted the attention of State Security. Recently it became known that demonstrations had taken place in Leipzig against censorship of church publications. On November 28, during the international festival for short and documentary films, protests involving balloons erupted against the banning of the Soviet magazine "Sputnik" and a Soviet film.

"Streiflichter" [Sidelights], a publication of the Leipzig "Arbeitsgruppe Umweltschutz" [Working Group for Environmental Protection] and sponsored by the pastoral youth office comments: "There is ample food for thought in the fact that the victims of censorship are not only church publications but also publications from the Soviet Union (a country to whom our party leadership has pledged its unwavering loyalty)." References were also made to the German edition of the Soviet publication "Neue Zeit" [New Times] whose first three editions of 1988, according to the authorities, "somehow never reached the public." Those issues contained the text of Schatrow's play "Weiter, weiter, weiter" [On and on and on]. "Streiflichter" sneered: "Thanks to our party's indefatigable censors, these articles of unusual interest have surfaced to the top of the vast media market and have thus been brought to the attention of many more readers than would ordinarily have been the case. Our thanks go to the SED for its special recommendation." During the past few months citizens of Leipzig witnessed a flood of fines and so-called preemptive detentions. Many of them involved the same individuals that got arrested later. They were fined "for disturbing the peace of socialist society." Gesine Oltmann and Rainer Mueller were fined 500 marks each after their protest against the censorship of church publications. Frank Sellenthin got

stuck with a 400-mark fine and Jochen Laessig with a 200-mark fine. Rainer Mueller is no newcomer to bad experiences with the authorities. He was kicked out of high school because he wore a badge with the slogan "Schwerter zu Pflugscharen" [Swords Into Ploughshares]. The balloon protest against the banning of Sputnik had consequences as well. Gesine Oltmann was ordered to pay 800 marks and Frank Sellenthin 200 marks. But they were arrested before they could pay. Those who are familiar with salaries in the GDR will know that 800 marks is about a month's pay for a clerk in a music publishing house. There is no doubt that after the SED managed last year to force leaders of the East Berlin peace and human rights movement to emigrate rather than to face prison—only five resisted the pressure and managed to hold on to their GDR passport—it is now determined to enforce its variety of peace in the provinces as well. The party seems not to realize though that this kind of "graveyard silence" leads nowhere. To quote SPD Deputy Chair Herta Daeubler-Gmelin as she put a wreath on Rosa Luxemburg's grave in East Berlin on Monday of last week: "A state that violates the rights of men and women—who in the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg champion the right to free assembly and association, to a free and unencumbered press, to general elections, and to the conflict between differing opinions—shows nothing but contempt for the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg." It seems that for many of those engaged in church sponsored peace efforts, the situation in the GDR will remain "quite familiar."

#### Activities of Environmentalist Movement Described

23000119 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER  
RUNDSCHAU (ZEIT UND BILD Supplement)  
in German 11 Feb 89 p ZB1

[Article by Reiner Scholz: "A Vital Ecological Movement Is Developing Around the Church in the GDR"]

[Text] With great satisfaction, Maria Jacobi (40) pushes the blue notebook across the living room table. It is fully covered beyond the margin with churchgoers' comments on the exhibition "About Water" which, since last summer, publicly denounces the pollution of the Elbe river in a corner of Dresden's Kreuzkirche. "The tone of the comments has changed in comparison to former entries," she says. "In the past accusations predominated while today's comments would rather say," she opens a page at random: "How many of those registered here have actually started to become personally involved?"

The dark-haired former dentist—whose crudely carved cross on her chest leaves no doubt about her Christian sentiments—is the primary force behind the Dresden "Ecological Study Group," which came into being in 1980 and is the largest of its kind in the GDR. About 200 interested persons attend monthly public meetings about dying forests and nuclear power, about water and air, or

to discuss whether an ecologically-aware Christian can still afford to tolerate the vegetation-destroying practice of covering cemetery graves in the fall.

Maria Jacobi estimates that about 70 members are really active. The largest subgroup calls itself "Alternative Life," and advocates something which is virtually impossible in the German Democratic Republic: Health food stores do not exist and there are only three organic farms in the area and their entire production goes to the West. At the moment the "Alternatives" are concerned with state-produced detergents. Painstakingly, they try to analyze and evaluate their ingredients. Since the cardboard packages provide no information about the chemical composition of the detergents, Maria Jacobi characterizes this as "somewhat of a Stone Age effort." Her patient and mild-mannered approach to ecological resistance contrasts sharply with the radical involvement of others, "about which the Western media love to report," angrily comments Maria Jacobi. Often she does not even want to hear or read about the spectacular events which the West likes to present since: "It only hurts us when there are disturbances which are then also flashed over western television"

She prefers to rely on dialogues. A discussion group in which Marxists and Christians would sit together is supposed to be formed soon—heretofore also an unthinkable occurrence. The Dresden group is quite successful with its approach. In September 1987 it succeeded in staging what was probably the first and only autonomous demonstration. With slogans opposing "military toys" and advocating "disarmament by East and West," and exposed to the highly skeptical scrutiny of employed workers and state security, about 250 peace-loving Christians proceeded from Dresden's Dimitroffplatz [Dimitroff Square] to Theaterplatz where they joined "official" demonstrators to commemorate the assassination of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Last year the group prevented the establishment of a tank depot in the Dresden Heath. The photo exhibition "Mobile Without Cars" which it compiled, and which declared war even within the GDR on the poison-generating "Trabbi" in particular and the auto craze in general, has in the meantime become known throughout the Republic even though it can only be shown in churches and even though most dailies have not published a single line about it.

Quick remedial action cannot, however, be expected: The ultramodern "Wartburg," with a VW motor and the pride of the state-owned automobile industry, will soon be available for 32,000 marks. It does not even have a catalytic converter observes the devout lady shaking her head. But public interest in ecology is increasing. The water exhibit in a corner of the large nave of the Kreuzkirche forcefully draws attention to pollution by showing simple and unobtrusive muddy brown water samples from the river and corresponding photographs of the sampling areas. On good days the exhibit attracts over 1,000 visitors.



The "City Council," the executive authority, is not indifferent. Immediately after the exhibit opened, the "State Water Authority" in an "informative discussion" explained that measurements of any kind may not be made public. A water-sampling suitcase, donated to the Dresden group by a large West German environmental protection organization, had to be surrendered immediately. Environmental data are highly sensitive in the GDR; to make them public could mean imprisonment in accordance with a 1982 ordinance of the Council of Ministers, details of which have still not been released. Thus, the Dresden environmentalists are forced to rely on this "unscientific" but engaging presentation.

However, the defiant ecological movement on the other side, which increasingly follows into the footsteps of the peace movement, can no longer be restrained. Larger regional meetings of the plucky environmentalists are becoming more frequent. In the beginning of last year even a "Green Network" was formed in the GDR out of existing active groups. Their periodical, ARCHE NOAH [Noah's Ark], is feisty and explosive. It has 60 to 80 rough stencilled pages, is stapled at the edge and contains the required wording "for official use within the church only." About 1,000 copies are distributed throughout the GDR.

ARCHE NOAH does not mince words. In its last edition, for instance, it dealt with the "Agrotex Pirna" state enterprise, a poison farm in Dresden-Gohlis, which, within its "cockeyed walls," produces "Wofatex," a wettable powder against harmful insects containing the highly toxic agent E 605. In the factory's courtyard stand drums with the concentrated active ingredient and houses and vegetation in the vicinity are tinged with gray. There are corresponding effects: "The workers' pale and dull skin, inflamed and glassy eyes, and swellings and inflammations of the hands are striking," writes author Herbert Simmer in ARCHE NOAH. A worker [is quoted:] "We are all running around like flour men, we must pound shut more than 400 drums by hand in the sticky, dusty air. This makes you sweat and the skin burns and itches. When you take a hot shower your skin feels as if pricked by a thousand needles."

That this is cannot be healthy was even noted by those responsible for hygiene. The result: The environment is now supposed to be better protected; the ventilation ducts in the mixing tower will remain closed. Tough luck for the workers who cannot easily object since, as the reader is also informed, "up to 80 percent of the workers employed by the Agrotex Pirna State Enterprise are problem workers such as released prisoners, 'asocial elements,' and alcoholics."

Also effected, as so often in the emission-rich Republic, are those who enjoy gardening. "What can we do? Vegetables often taste of Wofatex dust, while the aphids have become resistant a long time ago," one gardener comments. Some time ago, "hygienists" set up measuring cups on high poles near the factory. The result of this confidential research: 25 times more than established

limits. The small gardeners wanted to call a meeting but their district headquarters vetoed the idea. Root and tuberous vegetables, berries and tomatoes can no longer be planted. Production losses, as everywhere, are reimbursed generously and without red tape from factory funds.

The unadorned reports in ARCHE NOAH, which in this form cannot be found anywhere in the official press, are much appreciated by Maria Jacobi; however, she has a problem with the "Green Network" itself, which is a splinter group of the best-known environmental library in the Zionist parish of East Berlin. "This network is, unfortunately, self-appointed from the top." She describes the initial, inauspicious meeting by saying: "These people arrived here and said: we are now your new point of contact, please turn over your entire material."

One basic question must be faced by all oppositional groups: How should one treat those who want to emigrate? Years of experience have taught the Dresden people to be cautious and to refrain from working with those who have already applied for an exit visa. They have learned that those who want to emigrate will act in a particularly radical manner within the movement in order to get out at long last. "But thereby," it is said, "they may also endanger those who want to stay."

So far the long-bearded Henry Schramm (39), an influential advocate of the "Ecological Working Group" in Halle and an intrepid worker for ARCHE NOAH, entertains no such thoughts. He has other worries. Just now the latest issue of their ecological news in Halle, the ENVIRONMENT TELEGRAM of which 300 copies were made, was confiscated on the street. A friend who was supposed to take them to a distribution point was interrogated for 3 hours. After repeated inquiries "traffic control" was given as the official reason. The newspapers were kept, a measure which caused a friend to comment offhandedly: "Too bad that our texts are not yet on diskettes. We could then reproduce them again quickly and the comrades could kiss our feet."

The text was, therefore, made public differently a week later during the official inauguration of the new environmental library in the badly deteriorated Georgenkirche in Halle. The church had already been scheduled for demolition in 1985 to make way for a multilane thoroughfare, but the parish's optimistic youths and their minister were able to prevent its complete obliteration by committing 15,000 hours of their "own labor." More than 300 appeared for the library's opening, wearing jeans, parkas and athletic shoes, in the communication center which they created. The text previously confiscated by the People's Police was read and Stefan P. in his relaxed Saxon dialect related his experiences at the boat procession to an increasingly amused audience.

It happened during the traditional mock battle of fishermen in the fall, which is the high point of the annual public festival in the "salt city" [Halle] on the Saale

river. Everybody eagerly awaited the festive procession of boats. Stefan P. had thought of something special for the occasion. As the only private boat among the roughly 200 boats "organized" by industrial enterprises or by the party, he collected the 50-mark bonus from the "State Enterprise for Local Recreation" for his festively adorned tub. As in a carnival parade on the water, all boats carried banners proclaiming "Freedom for Nelson Mandela" or "Every Mark for the Development of Socialism." Stefan's banner carried the slogan: "We Must Protect the Environment—We Are All in the Same Boat."

However, when, unsuspecting, he wanted to present his award-winning boat on Saturday to the tens of thousands lining the river banks adorned with colored lanterns, a People's Police boat seized his tub without much ado with a hook designed to maintain public order and towed it, and Stefan P., "at life-threatening breakneck speed" down the Saale to the pier, where the police confiscated his artfully inscribed bed sheet. His complaints on the following Monday to various levels of the People's Police and to the City Council resulted in the decision to return the banner and to allow "five boats of the Cultural League," the official environmental organization, to participate next year to further the environmental cause.

GDR authorities are afraid of public debates over the environment. The problems are enormous but the coffers are empty. Cultivated soil is largely exhausted because of excessive application of liquid manure and fertilizers. The forests are in bad shape, not least because of enormous pollution from Czech and Polish power plants. The GDR is relying completely on domestic brown coal for its power production. The quality of this coal keeps deteriorating and strip mining seams extend ever deeper into the ground. According to an official study quoted by ARCHE NOAH, it will be necessary to dig 180 meters into the ground by the turn of the century.

By 1980, 30,000 people throughout the GDR had been resettled because of land-devouring strip mining and 75 localities had been "levelled." In 1980 excavated dirt from strip mining equalled that of an imaginary trench from Berlin to Minsk as wide and deep as the Suez Canal, according to ARCHE NOAH. In the Cottbus region, 22 percent of the entire area has been earmarked for development as a "mining reserve." By the year 2,000, 90 localities are supposed to be levelled and 17,500 people resettled. What remains is a cratered landscape.

The highly sulfurous brown coal is extremely deleterious to the well being of both men and the environment. Six million tons of sulfur dioxide are expelled annually through chimneys during its combustion. Somewhat more at night because at that time the few filter systems, which have been installed in the meantime and are completely obsolete already, are turned off to increase

output. In the particularly threatened central German industrial area of Halle-Leipzig, more than 6,000 large chimneys emit sulfurous vapors.

Nothing is publicly said or written about this subject. Only the Evangelical Church with its pamphlet, which frequently does not exceed 100 copies, provides a modest amount of contrasting information. It is not for sale. "Intended only for internal church use" is noted categorically on every title page. Environmental libraries under the roof of a church counteract this information gap, which is filled only by the Western media. They are more than impersonal lending libraries or part-time reference libraries since they provide a self-generated meeting place and a safe point for exchanging information.

"There are more than 80 ecological study groups, but we don't know exactly how many of them have an environmental library," comments a representative of the ecclesiastical research home in Luther's town of Wittenberg, which functions somewhat as a scientific organization for the Christian environmental movement. Under the auspices of the national Evangelical Church, researchers are releasing studies on dying forests, nuclear energy, and alternative nutrition. Their pamphlet, PECH-BLENDE [Pitchblende], about the destruction of landscapes and about health problems triggered by intensive uranium mining in the GDR has a lasting impact.

"That was the only pamphlet the authorities took at all seriously," an insider relates. The author in the course of a discussion with SED representatives was provocatively threatened with the rigid "worker's fist," which in view of such publications one may not be able to stop.

What is an environmental library anyway? The Halle people in the Georgenkirche are starting this Friday evening with about 10 books, most of them from the West, and with a few dozen well-thumbed periodicals, which, for the time being, cannot be checked out. While eating a lard sandwich and drinking apple juice (the wine had just run out), young people leaf through a stack of the West German alternative TAGESZEITUNG from last year. Pinned up on a wall are newspaper cuttings from such Western papers as the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU. Many in the still young environmental movement have a problem with the following: One's identity is defined by way of the West; from there information is received and one quotes from books from the golden other side. It is difficult, therefore, to establish one's own identity.

This evening Henry Schramm is meeting many friends from the ecological and peace movement of the entire GDR. The scene is small and cohesive. For that reason friends occasionally travel for one evening to Berlin, Leipzig, Rostock, or—as now—Halle. The latest humorous stories circulate, as for instance, the one about the war over small trees. In mid-November the "Ecological Study Group Halle" received four mountain ashes and eight maples as part of the "Plant a Tree" campaign. The

maples were placed into "existing plant holes" in the Bernburger Strasse on which linden trees, previously planted by the Free German Youth, had perished. The environmentalists would also have preferred Lindens but they were, allegedly, unavailable. But now, as the young maples visually violated the uniform appearance of the rows of linden trees on Bernburger Strasse, the municipal garden authority intervened. The maples were pulled out again and quickly replaced by young linden trees. Order must prevail.

This principle is not only followed by hundreds of thousands of school children who, in the course of the "recycling collection" (or secondary raw materials collection), in the early morning hours and still half asleep, lug tons of used paper, fabrics and glass to school in return for good grades in "recycling." It is also followed by Henry Schramm who, for 1,000 marks over a year, tills, rakes, cultivates and maintains a strip of green between the expressway and the Inter Hotel on Ernst-Thaelmann Platz. "I always know what is available just now at the Inter shop. The wrapping paper always end up on my lawn, that is how impatient people are." In this way, and not without sarcasm, he describes the adversities of his job.

Is he not afraid of being discriminated against because of his obvious ecopolitical involvement? "I really have four jobs," says the optimistic computer specialist, "if they fire me from one place, I'll just turn to something else."

Maria Jacobi also feels secure. She is employed by the church. Her involvement even opens a whole new world to her. A short time ago she attended a ecumenical meeting at Assisi in central Italy for several days, and now she would have had a chance to travel to Amsterdam on business; but that fell through because her husband and three children, who already run much of the household, are rebelling because she pays too little attention to her family and because they do not think that it is right for her to travel again to the coveted West after such a short time.

#### **Efforts To Promote Christian-Communist Dialogue Reported**

23000122 Hamburg DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT in German 13 Jan 89 p 5

[Article by Guenter Geschke: "Forced Coexistence: Constant Friction Between State and Church Does Not Preclude Cooperation"]

[Text] It is too early to tell what sort of New Year's Eve resolutions were made by East Germany's government and its churches. Will 1989 see a return to a pragmatic modus vivendi after a series of disturbances that reached from the Liebknecht demonstrations to the electronic eavesdropping on Reverend Eppelmann? Is there another chance for church and state to coexist peacefully after the stressed relationship between the party and "the church within socialism", a relationship that saw on the

one side the protection of opposition groups and on the other the censorship of church publications? Or will a renewed and exacerbated "church offensive" take place within the common house whose walls have been weakened by perestroika and glasnost? Or will firebrands and conservatives from both camps agree to an armistice?

Those who subscribe to the notion of realpolitik can't help but acknowledge that in the GDR, state and church are interdependent to an unprecedented degree!

The state needs the church because of the many services it provides. The church cares for the handicapped, the old, the sick; it admonishes people not to turn away from their country and their fellow citizens when the state makes life difficult and when at the same time another German society beckons with promises; and—as opposition by default—it channels angry citizens' protests, diffuses ebullient youth protests, and holds the line in matters of peace and arms control.

About one fifth of the population in the GDR belongs to the Protestant church and the church needs the cooperation of the state and the party because of its wish list. For a long time the following items have been heading the list: The church wants to strengthen the role parents play in the education of their children; it wants an end to discrimination against church members in education and the professions; it would like to see an official alternative to serving in the armed forces; and it would like to reduce official arbitrariness and increase the right of citizens to file complaints. A climate of controversy is not conducive towards having these wishes come true.

More hard-nosed, self-serving reasons urge the church towards cooperation as well. The Protestant church in the GDR needs considerably more money than it can get both from its membership and the state. It depends on the West for transfer payments and on its own government for tolerating such arrangements. And last but not least: The state has the last word on allotments of building materials, computers, office equipment, and so on.

There are indications; however, that some Christians and quite a few Marxists are no longer satisfied to live this pragmatically motivated coexistence between state and church, communism and Christianity. Both sides of the border have seen talks of something resembling a dialogue between Marxists and Christians. A few dozen meetings are to be held on college and university campuses. The Marxists apparently are quite eager to demonstrate that their world view is in a state of change and that their traditional atheism is of little importance when compared to the many humanistic values held in common with Christians.

For example, the much respected political economist and vice president of Humboldt University, Professor Dieter Klein, is delivering in and outside of the GDR a talk entitled "Towards a World Without Weapons and Exploitation." He characterizes his talk "as a necessary

contribution to the dialogue between Marxists and Christians." He is indeed offering a Marxist-Leninist theory that is very much influenced by the "new way of thinking." It is moving away from the traditional theme of class struggle and towards the struggle for the survival of mankind. Even bad old capitalism is now credited with a capacity for change previously undreamt of. Apparently it has now understood that its own survival depends on saving the environment and on establishing global peace.

Klein puts it this way: "Humanity has generated forces that can only be controlled under peaceful conditions. This is the salient point in the inner logic of the new production system. It demands a global economic system that can initiate disarmament and manage the retooling of the defense industry in an effort to build a peace oriented global economy." Klein speaks of the "coevolution" of social systems as "the emergence of peace in concrete terms", a process necessary for the survival of all nations and classes.

Similar axioms and parallel conclusions highlight a lecture by Reverend Giselher Hickel held early December last year. Hickel has been in charge of youth related issues at the League of Protestant Churches and he traces the origins of Marxist "new thinking" to the same roots that inspire the Christian notion of "reconciliation." Both realize that for the first time in history, mankind has acquired the power to annihilate each other and to destroy the world. It is true that Christians believe that ultimately the survival of mankind remains in the hands of the Lord; but—so Hickel speculates—"if the powers of destruction have been placed within man's reach, does it still make sense then to believe in the Lord's sovereign rule over the earth?" Hickel says that we have to live with this contradiction and profit from its "stimulating" effect.

Hickel claims to notice a changed sense of "piety" in the GDR. "All our key words and key images about heaven and hell that we have been harboring in our hearts and minds have increasingly taken on political meanings. Religiously motivated expectations are increasingly overlapping with political programs and objectives. Inevitably this will politicize our church and community life more and more."

Hickel ponders the consequences: "If, in the name of our religion, we take up such highly explosive topics as justice, peace, and the environment, then, before we know it, we will be taking sides as partners or adversaries." A kind of "neutral watchdog function," a "half-hearted solidarity" is not an acceptable alternative for Christians according to Hickel.

Hickel is now in charge of ecumenical affairs in the League of Protestant Churches and he knows that he is in the minority when he says: "I am confident about our

communist party's ability to think "in new ways." His main objective is to help create an atmosphere in the GDR that encourages "taking risks." Christians can contribute in many ways:

1. They can point out that "the economy under socialism will never—or at least not within the near future—be in a position where it can fulfill consumer wishes to the same extent and to the same degree of satisfaction as capitalist economy can. In this regard socialism simply cannot compete." However; increased levels of production are not the measuring stick for a more humane people. A society should be judged by how well the poor and less fortunate of its people live, by "how evenly its riches are distributed." And that is where socialism's real strength lies.

2. They can point out that "socialist style democracy" cannot compete with bourgeois capitalist nations as far as the exercise of individual rights is concerned. However; seen in a larger context, such rights are nothing but the "privilege of a small rich minority" exercised at the expense of a poor majority. And it is this majority that neither Christians nor Socialists must ever lose sight of.

3. They can point to the fight against corruption: "We should learn to say no to opportunities, goods, and services that we cannot normally afford or which are only available through unofficial channels and at greatly inflated prices. We must not abuse social connections because doing so will destroy the social climate."

These are certainly unpopular views and they will be challenged on both sides of the border on theological as well as political grounds. But not unlike the views put forth by the Marxist political economist, they project a readiness to do away with tired old phrases and tricks, and to face the global and regional challenges of our times without flinching.

## POLAND

**POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup**  
26000329 Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 7, 18 Feb 89 p 2

[Excerpts]

### National News

[Passage omitted] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman for the Solidarity groups participating in the roundtable, pointed to opportunities for budget savings in a comment for television: a reduction of 20 percent in the expenditures for defense and the internal affairs ministry. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI comment on the issue. The percentage of expenditures for defense in the national income distributed will decline from 3.8 percent in 1988 to 3.6 percent in 1989. And the percentage of the budget of the Ministry of Defense in the expenditures of the state will decline from 7.7 percent to 5.5



percent during the same two years. The military budget amounts to 25,100 zloty per capita; during the same period, military expenditures per capita in the United States were \$1,185; France, \$620; FRG, \$560. Reports of supposedly high earnings for military personnel, says ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, are false; a platoon leader earns on the average 67,600 zloty; a general, division commander, 128,500 zloty. The average wage in December 1988 was 111,000 zloty. "I do not think that Mr Onyszkiewicz had bad intentions with respect to the defense of the state, but he makes such an impression," concludes the commentator for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. Major Wojciech Garstka, press spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, also commented on this issue. In 1988, the budget of the ministry was not quite 2.9 percent of the budget of the state; in 1989, it will not exceed 2.5 percent. The 20-percent savings proposed by Onyszkiewicz would allow barely a 10 percent increase in subsidies for the production and processing of milk. The average wage in the ministry in 1988 was 67,128 zloty (a senior district patrolman after 17 years earns 72,000 zloty). There are 170 militiamen per 100,000 inhabitants; in France, 309, in the FRG, 280, in Great Britain, 260, in Denmark 215. In 1988, 5.8 percent of the positions were vacant. The conclusion of the spokesman: "Returning to recommendations leading to the weakening of an institution essential to the operation of the state does not contribute, in my opinion, to a constructive debate at the roundtable, for it moves into the sphere of emotion and political conflicts, and not socioeconomic rationality."

"Nomenklatura Today"—a report from E. Bandosz, deputy head of the Personnel Policy Section of the PZPR Central Committee, for PAP: at the plenum in June 1988, the Central Committee adopted a resolution ordering a sharp reduction in the number of positions covered by political acceptability. At the central level there remain, practically, about 800, or about 80 percent fewer than before; at the voivodship there were 75-80 percent fewer. According to estimated data, in all of Poland there are about 30,000 positions covered by political acceptability.

New Associations. Recently, among others, the Ignacy Paderewski Poland-United States Association was registered (the temporary president is Prof Jerzy Wiatr, among the founding members are Prof Birula Bialynicki, Prof Henryk Samsonowicz, Father Prof Joachim Kondziela, Prof Janusz Reykowski, and editor Daniel Passent). On 6 February, the All-Polish Club of the Friends of Lithuania was registered. At the district office for Warsaw Zoliborz, an association called Discussion Meeting of Journalists was legalized; its temporary chairman is Maciej Ilowiecki, longtime journalist and member of the staff of POLITYKA (until the introduction of martial law). The purpose of this discussion forum is to organize exchanges of thoughts "on all subjects of possible interest to journalists."

Symbolic remains are to be brought to the Powazki Cemetery by a delegation of the Council for the Conservation of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom from the site in Katyn where the Polish officers and soldiers were killed. At a meeting at the Warsaw PZPR committee, it was announced that the State Scientific Publishers already has manuscripts of works on the deportations of Poles in 1939-45, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the fate of Polish officers. [passage omitted]

Wildlife Statistics. According to TRYBUNA LUDU, we have today 4,300 elk, about 80,000 deer, more than 480,000 fawns, about 65,000 boars, about 5,000 fallow deer, more than 1.1 million hares, nearly 700,000 partridges, and about 300,000 pheasants. We have 90,000 hunters; this figure too is an estimate; it includes only the members of the Polish Hunters' Union.

Among the newly nominated professors is Prof Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center and one of our contributors. Congratulations! [passage omitted]

Who's Who News. Eugeniusz Goraj (age 41) economist, secretary of the Skierniewice PZPR Voivodship Committee has been elected to the position of first secretary of the Voivodship Committee. Of the 74 members of the plenum, 43 voted for him.

#### On the Left

An announcement of a multiparty system is the quintessence of the most important decision of the plenum of the MSZMP Central Committee. "Parties that accept the constitution will be able to operate," commented K. Grosz in an interview for radio and television.

There were 692 signatories, most of them from the cultural sphere and artists of the Prague stages, of a letter to Premier Ladislav Adamec, condemning the intervention of the forces of order during the attempted manifestations on Vaclav Square. Many of the most outstanding actors in the CSSR who 20 years ago signed the historical appeal "2000 Words" did not sign the letter.

Criticism of the nationalist movement in Estonia in the paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "History has shown many times that every attempt to divert social forces from the path of socialism, from the changes of historical choices made by the people is done according to a traditional scheme. It begins from a revision of unchanging values, from idealizing an alternative social and economic order, from playing on the national feelings, from constant attempts to compromise and defame the role of the party. The self-nominated sole defenders of the interests of the Estonian people are attempting to use all these mechanisms to a degree."



"Stalin started the so-called Winter War with Finland in November 1939," stated Gen Dmitriy Vokogonov, the well-known military historian, head of the Soviet Military History Institute, author of a biography of Stalin, in an interview for the Finnish weekly SUOMEN KUVALEHTI.

At the Jurt Theater in Budapest, an exhibition of illegal publications was organized for the first time. It was possible to look at papers and books that for the last decade have appeared in the so-called second circulation. The exposition included sales.

A letter in IZVESTIYA concerning Poland: "We, the 'Ruch' [Movement] Cultural-Scientific Society in Ivano-Frankovska, have sought unsuccessfully to send voluntary contributions totaling 1,438 rubles and 25 kopeyek given by the citizens and guests of our city to the town of Bialy Bor in Poland for the construction of an Ukrainian School. From press reports, we know that the civic committee in charge of the construction of this school in the People's Republic of Poland has the right to accept deposits to its account from the socialist countries. This is what we were told by the Soviet Ministry of Finance: "The Convertible-Currency and Economic Department says that the current regulations of sales of convertible currency to citizens does not permit transfer abroad of funds for charitable efforts."

L. Brumek, secretary of the Ostrava CPCZ District Committee on believers: The major task of the current propaganda is to gain greater respect among the broadest range of society, including devout believers. Thus, "in examining questions of religion and policy toward the Church, we cannot make the mistakes of the past, when the role of administrative and bureaucratic methods was overestimated." They produced a temporary, immediate effect, but they deepened the divisions between the party and the believers, "providing grist for the mill of the radicalizing fanatics." "At present we will more frequently emphasize that our constitution guarantees every citizen freedom of belief."

"Instead of beating Stalin, let's think about how to provide the people with meat," a reader wrote in a letter to the editor of PRAVDA VOSTOKA. [passage omitted]

"Changes in the customs regulations made at the end of 1988 in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, and the USSR are completely opposed to the idea of creating a unified market in the CEMA member countries proposed at the 43rd extraordinary session of the CEMA and confirmed by the 44th session in 1988," writes the Bulgarian weekly IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT. The author, Prof Stoimenov, adds: "Some countries appear to have consciously directed a portion of the unsatisfied purchasing power of their populations toward other countries."

## Opinions

[passage omitted]

*Prof Stefan Zolkiewski:*

(Interviewed by Jerzy S. Ossowski, ZYCIE LITERACKI No 6, 1989)

[Question] The issue is more significant, for the work of the Literary Research Institute, though with great difficulty as was noted due to its insular nature, should enter into the regular work of the Polish teachers.

[Answer] But it has! You should analyze the olympiads for literature and Polish language sponsored by the Literary Research Institute for more than 10 years. You will see that those sentimental fools did not write in such a vocabulary. These young people trained by their teachers (I agree they are the most outstanding ones) operate with theoretical and literary concepts without difficulty. I have watched the work of the Polish olympiad competitors with amazement and admiration. People with talent who understand literature and are competent in analyzing literature write these pieces. They are truly capable of penetrating the sense of literature.

[Question] A success then?

[Answer] Obviously, but that does not change the fact that two-thirds of the teachers do not have the proper qualifications as Prof Kupisiewicz says, especially the Polish and Russian teachers. Surely, Polish mathematicians, not wanted by anyone, are better than the other teachers."

*Prof Dr Wacław Wilczyński, economist:*

(Interviewed by Andrzej Jankowski, PRAWO I ZYCIE 4 February 1989)

[Question] What does it mean that you are announcing the end of ideology?

[Answer] Nothing of the sort. The whole point is that the near future must be dominated completely by ideology, but an ideology of entrepreneurship, and an ideology of expansion and competition, and not as now by an ideology of *ofnelzys*, [not allowed], *ne nada*, [not necessary], as they say in Russian. Let anyone, who wants to, cultivate his garden without fear that a steamroller will come and level it. For too long, we associated the statement by Lenin that monopoly leads to rotting with capitalism. But such a degree of monopolization joined with unsatisfied demand as it is in Poland, where every salesperson behaves like a monopolist behind the counter, does not appear in any Western country. The socialist monopoly leads to the same rotting the capitalist one does.

*Edward Radziewicz, chairman of the Solidarity Interfactory Organizational Committee in Szczecin:*

(Interviewed by Jerzy Robert Sawka, MORZE I ZIEMIA 1-7 February 1989)

[Question] On the one hand, you say you support reconciliation; on the other, you are counting on exerting pressure by striking. Do you think that in the current situation clear opposition by striking is a sensible way out?

[Answer] I am not brandishing the strike argument; it is slumbering in the people. It is not impossible for an uncontrolled explosion to occur. For the time being, Solidarity assumes that it will not initiate strikes. If the union is not legalized by May, we anticipate that mass protests may occur. Are strikes sensible? Do we have any other arguments?

*Lech Walesa:*

(Interviewed for NOVE CHASY according to a PAP bulletin)

[Answer] It is not true that Poles bear a serious grudge against the Russian people. Simply, little politicians have at times played on the understandable anti-Stalinist moods, have hidden their failures behind the neighbor. To be sure, we have criticized the regime of the epoch of stagnation, but not as sharply as your press criticizes it today. What your newspapers wrote about Solidarity caused pain. We are glad that today these things are different. Our people feel great sympathy for your people. I personally dream of visiting the USSR and seeing with my own eyes what I have heard so much about. On the other hand, everything that has divided us in the past must be removed. To this end, the blank spots in our joint history must be filled in. I am thinking especially of the problem of Katyn.

*The opinions and views cited in this section do not always agree with those of the editors.*

#### **Opposition Extremists, OPZZ 'Class' Structure Viewed**

26000356 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
2 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Prof Mariusz Gulczynski, political scientist, Institute of State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences, by Tadeusz Kucharski: "What Will the Game Be Like?"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts]

[Passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Professor, sir, do you think that a constructive opposition, consisting of the intelligentsia and those workers who listen to Lech Walesa, will help us resolve the crisis-conflict situation?

[Prof Gulczynski] This will be of help, but it will not be enough. It is necessary to create and implement a program for improving the lot of the masses, in particular of the rising generation. A program that would make it possible to fully utilize talents—by keeping capable individuals in this country instead of having them emigrate—and benefit from the attendant consequences, that is, meet living and cultural needs at an up-to-date civilizational level. Please note that both the program advocated by the government and the proposals of the opposition, meaning both the program of Minister Wilczek and the program of the opposition economists, are programs for the elites, for enterprising individuals, rather than for the masses.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Who should create a program for the masses?

[Prof Gulczynski] This has to be a common cause and one of the main purposes of the roundtable. I am looking for leaders of the rising generation, both in the camp of the authorities and in the camp of the opposition. I think that such leaders exist, and they merely have to be provided with legal, democratic tribunes from which they could emerge. Unless we provide these tribunes, they will find for themselves rebellious, anarchic tribunes.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So far in our conversation we have been assuming a positive unfolding of events. But grave perils also exist.

[Prof Gulczynski] There exist very real perils on both sides, but the peril from the opposition is now greater than that from the authorities. In the oppositionist camp, confrontational tendencies may get the upper hand over readiness for a complementary agreement with the authorities. In the camp of the authorities by now extremist tendencies are displayed only by those who lack horse sense, who take umbrage at the realities, at the change in the situation.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But among the authorities the ideas of the 10th Plenum [the acceptance of Solidarity and pluralism] may be suppressed by the lower-level hardliners, as had happened to the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum and the assumptions of the highest authorities concerning elections to people's councils.

[Prof Gulczynski] The tendency to suppress will be the stronger the more the confrontational elements of the opposition gain a voice. In this connection, the meaning of the 'roundtable' is unusually important, as is that of the Council for the National Accord, that is, an association of supporters of the reforms from both camps, the creation of a strong alignment and its institutionalization, meaning the most rapid possible conduct of elections to the Parliament, the commencement of joint work on amending the Constitution and modifying the supreme bodies of state power, that is, the creation of new facts.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Recently we have been constantly hearing, especially on television, expressions of fears that plants and factories will become an arena of struggle between [regime-sponsored and Solidarity] trade unions.

[Prof Gulczynski] These are justified fears. We may be menaced by a trend toward populism, that is toward politicking, toward mutual rivalry between the leaders of both trade unions in making new demands. This may create a situation in which the performance of the economy will be increasingly undermined and parochial and branch interests will predominate over longrange strategic interests of the working class itself. We already are perceiving tendencies of this kind in the currently operating [regime-sponsored OPZZ] trade unions, and during the strikes last August they also were manifested by Solidarity, in its attempts to gain supporters by showing greater radicalism.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How can such a grave peril be averted?

[Prof Gulczynski] For a long time now I have been saying and writing wherever I can that the entire drama in Poland consists in that the working class lacks an organization of its own that could articulate its interests.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How can that be considering that Alfred Miodowicz [the chairman of the OPZZ (National Trade Union Alliance)] calls the OPZZ a "class-oriented" trade union?

[Prof Gulczynski] In what way is it [working-]class-oriented? In every workplace it associates the entire workforce, including administrative employees and supervisors, not just blue-collar workers, and if you consider the structure of the leadership of these trade unions I bet you 100 to 1 that it is dominated by middle- and low-level managerial personnel, not by blue-collar workers. The OPZZ focuses more on promoting the interests of supervisors and lower-level managers in discrete industry subsectors rather than those of blue-collar workers. Consider that during the recent strikes the two demands that were repeated everywhere concerned slashing administrative employment drastically at plants and factories and—particularly among miners—respect to be shown for the worker's dignity by middle- and lower-level supervisory personnel.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So then we may expect not only the admission of Solidarity to plants and factories but also a reform of the [regime-sponsored OPZZ] trade unions?

[Prof Gulczynski] I think that now, given this third approach, there still will not arise a trade union structure that would fully represent the interests of workers. Yet unless such a structure arises now that trade union pluralism is being introduced, we shall constantly face the "worker question" as manifesting itself in the form of elemental, anarchic outbreaks. I believe that only the

formation of trade unions associating only blue-collar workers and direct service providers—among whom I also include engineers and, speaking generally, members of the intelligentsia who do not work as organizers of others' labor—can make the worker issue more civilized, that is, make this issue resolvable through the mediation of organizations engaging in democratic bargaining in accordance with the law.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Hence, the road toward overcoming the crisis-conflict situation is still distant, is it not?

[Prof Gulczynski] Of course, but what has happened so far, and especially at the 10th Plenum, is regarded as reshuffling the cards or, to put it differently, placing the ball in the opposition's court and inviting it to join in the game. As to how the opposition will join in the game and whether we all will be capable of acting wisely, that cannot be foreseen.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Professor, sir, it is the hallmark of an honest game that every player has the same chances of winning and losing, as otherwise it resembles Mlynarski's ditty about the chessplayer. Consider for example whether, as regards the economy, will the capitalist sector have an honest chance to defeat the socialist sector?

[Prof Gulczynski] I am convinced that the socialist sector has a future, but I believe that it will have a rationale for survival only if it proves to be genuinely superior to the capitalist, in the sense that it can both cope with the requirements of competition and prove to be more humane toward the workforces and consumers, that is, oriented not only toward the profit motive but also toward meeting social needs at a lower risk to the natural environment.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But what if it does not prove superior in that sense?

[Prof Gulczynski] For years I have been repeating that I am a declared supporter of the socialist direction of progress, but to me socialism is a means, not an end, a snuffbox, not the nose—the people are the end. A system of society that optimally meets the needs of the society must be created, and this should be the point instead of focusing on labels. Likewise, the name of the future system of society does not matter; let it be called "system-schmystem," so long as people live well under it.

#### **'Office of President' Does Not Evoke Fond Memories for All**

26000350 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY  
in Polish No 8, 19 Feb 89 p 8

[Article by Piotr Wierzbicki: "Palace Pretensions"]

[Text] Some of the ideas which have recently been appearing from various quarters I like, and others I dislike. The notions of reforming Poland by restoring

various decorative or symbolic institutions are my least favorite. First among these I would include the idea of restoring the office of president. For some time now the Democratic Party, or SD, has been calling for the office to be restored.

The SD's arguments are emotional and historical in nature: The office of president is to be a link to the traditions of the Second Republic. It is to bring us into some sort of "distant, better times." A nice idea, but a little too slick. I, for example, associate the office of president of the Polish Republic not only with Narutowicz, Wojciechowski, Moscicki, and Raczkiewicz, but also, perhaps still more strongly, with Bierut. I am therefore not entirely convinced that the office of president would bring me into "distant, better times." The days of President Bierut were very unpleasant for me.

Inasmuch as the emotional, historical argument supposedly calling for restoration of the office of president turns out to be doubtful, the office should not be restored unless it can win out in Poland on real material grounds. I am considering how I could benefit from the fact that the collective government of the Council of State had been replaced by the office of president in a single person. I have grave doubts. The SD may be in a different situation. It has perhaps actually dreamed that in a reformed People's Poland based on a 3-party coalition the PZPR will be represented by the first secretary, the ZSL by the premier, and then it, the SD, would get ... the seat of president? Then the SD comes out ahead, but who else? Probably nobody.

I would not like the office of president to be held by a person who also had another high position. Poland is not in need of any "strong man" trying to be in sole command. I would not like the office of president to be held by an "independent person," a person who "enjoys general respect," or a person who "is respected but not involved," for example, some eminent professor who has nothing to do with either the government or the opposition. I would not like it, because this would be a figurehead president, whom any member of the voivodship machine could deride. Such a president would be sad to see.

It looks as though, with the exception of extremely unlikely solutions, the restoration of the office of president would basically be a change in name. This is how things look, but this is absolutely not so. There is still a certain detail which changes the form of things entirely. The palace! Restoration of the office of president means that a host of high state officials will go to the Royal Palace in Warsaw to hold office there or live there. This in turn implies the prospects of a host of balls, receptions, gala festivities, decorations, promotions, and so on, the likes of which have never been seen in People's Poland. Now it is for this very reason that I do not in the least desire an office of president. Poland is too poor, too neglected, in too straitened circumstances for it to be fitting for any group of officials to be located in the

palace. Maybe someday, in the future... We have to work for the palace. Until you can telephone from Stegny to Ursynow, until you can buy nails in a store, until the water in the Vistula stops being polluted, until they stop throwing out on the market the bones from the meat they export, so long as employees at the University Library in Warsaw hang up signs reading "The University Library's collections are in danger" to no avail, while the culture minister revels in the level of Polish culture, let the officials keep their distance from the palace.

#### **Rural Problem Areas, Regionalization Policy Discussed**

26000371c Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
3 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Edward Brzostowski, government plenipotentiary for the development of rural-industrial organizations and the formation of rural living conditions, by Maciej Zdzienicki: "Problem Areas" subtitled "What Regionalization?"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[*RZECZPOSPOLITA*] It is said increasingly often that there exists socioeconomically undeveloped parts of Poland, or those whose economies are underperforming for various reasons. They are termed problem areas in professional literature. The Institute for the Planning and Furbishing of Rural Areas at the Agricultural Academy in Wroclaw estimates that nearly 50 percent of Poland's territory consists of problem areas. Is that true?

[Brzostowski] It is true that in our country there exist some areas which, compared with others, still have an underdeveloped technical infrastructure. In these areas the highly unfavorable trend of migration of rural population to cities and the transfer of [bankrupt] farms to the State Land Fund is observed. Quite often this situation is linked to regression of farm production. The migration from the countryside and the poor performance of farming in these areas vary in intensity from one such area to another and thus it is difficult to define precisely the part of this country's territory that is concerned, but in every case this is a negative tendency. The very existence of such problem areas is a disturbing fact, although it is worth noting that they are not limited to Poland, because similar problem areas confront Great Britain, France, the FRG, and other countries.

In Poland we can isolate several regions in which we encounter problem areas. They are:

- the region of the southeastern belt of Poland, often termed the "Eastern Wall," which runs parallel to our eastern frontier from Przemysl Voivodship through Zamosc, Chelm, Biala Podlaska, Bialystok, and Suwalki voivodships;
- part of the territory of Gorzow and Zielona Gora voivodships;



—the montane and piedmont region, including the Sudeten region.

Within the above areas there exist socially and economically underdeveloped regions, as compared with other regions, as well as regions of underperforming industry, and also regions with explicit regression and continuing efflux of the rural population.

The question of these areas was discussed indirectly or directly both at the Ninth and 10th PZPR congresses and at the 11th and, particularly, 10th congresses of the ZSL [United Peasant Party]. It was directly discussed in connection with the cost of farm production and parity, and indirectly by demanding a regionized farm policy. A partial attempt at solving certain related problems was the 1985 resolution of the Council of Ministers on economic and social activation and development of agriculture in montane and piedmont areas, as well as the 1987 resolution of the Council of Ministers on the utilization of arable land located in eastern Poland. The latter resolution is, besides, currently being revised.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What were the causes of the appearance of problem areas?

[Brzostowski] They are extremely varied and complicated. The main reason is that the historical, as it were, socioeconomic development of certain regions has exacerbated the existing disproportions, but that is not the only cause; the preferred investment sites always are those in which the desired effects can be achieved more rapidly. Much also depends on natural conditions.

So as not to see the forest for the trees, our agriculture as a whole should be considered. It is not too productive, and for the most part it still pursues the traditional farming trends. It consists largely of small farms with a little livestock fed basically with potatoes, hay, straw, and some quantities of grain. The field crops are chiefly grains and root crops. Given the differences in natural conditions, soil fertility, precipitation, and duration of the vegetation season in this country, and also considering the particular and often not very high level of expertise in scientific farming, the crops harvested vary greatly in size.

The cost of producing 100 kg of grain, 1 kg of meat, and 1 liter of milk varies greatly. On comparing the incomes of farms of the same size located in different voivodships such as Bialystok, Leszno, or Bydgoszcz, or in the Sudeten region, we find marked disparities. These ensue from production cost. Assuming that the outlays on producing 100 kg of grain in Leszno Voivodship are 100 units, in Zielona Gora Voivodship they exceed 140 units, and in some other voivodships even 160 units.

Now those who earn less invest less. The fixed assets of the average farm in southeastern Poland amount to about 85 percent compared with the nationwide average. Bearing in mind that the State subsidizes many producer

goods for agriculture, it turns out that wherever the investments are bigger these subsidies also are greater and the scale of advantages is larger. Smaller investments result in a lower increase in harvests, lower output, and hence also lower incomes. Then living conditions, too, are worse. Likewise, there are smaller possibilities for developing the infrastructure—water supply, telephones, health centers, schools, cultural facilities, stores. The differences in average income per hectare among different agricultural regions reach several tens of thousands of zlotys in extreme cases. Given such marked disparities in incomes and in social and engineering infrastructure, part of the population migrates to other regions, for understandable reasons, in search of better living conditions.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The purpose of this migration is most often industry. Thus, can it be said that another cause of the appearance of problem areas is the disproportions in the growth of town and country?

[Brzostowski] Well, on the one hand there was the traditional village with its rather low incomes, often lacking roads and indispensable infrastructure, and on the other there was the industrial plant offering a regular income, housing with amenities, and relatively easy access to social and cultural facilities.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Recently the need to regionize farm policy has been increasingly often mentioned; this is supposed to be an effective cure for the rise of problem areas and the attendant disproportions.

[Brzostowski] A cure works if the prognosis is correct. Hence, organizational, economic, and financial solutions that are effective from the standpoint of a regional farm policy will have to be introduced. I am referring in particular to a credit and tax system that would stem the withdrawal of farmland from production, curtail excessive depopulation of the countryside, and alleviate developmental disparities.

Of course, the development of problem areas requires outside assistance. But such assistance must provide a natural momentum for decentralized actions. We perceive an opportunity for development to lie in the widespread introduction of new forms of the organization of farm production, processing, and trade, for example through the establishment of all kinds of regional shareholding companies, also with the participation of foreign capital. This entails adapting the structure of farm production to natural conditions, on the one hand, and to the processing capacity and the local market, on the other. We do not have to grow potatoes and grain, or raise milk cows or hogs, at any price everywhere in Poland. Agriculture should be afforded the possibility of diversifying.

The rise of agroindustrial-commercial entities would assure an improved integration of processing facilities with the raw materials base and reduce the cost of



transportation and the in-transport in-storage losses. In addition, this would serve to reduce spoilage and improve quality as well as to create local jobs, stem disuse of farmland, and improve market supply. This will spur the economies of discrete regions and improve rural living conditions, on condition that it will be accompanied by a concomitant development of the social and engineering infrastructure, expansion of services, and development of local production of building materials.

The increased autonomy of people's councils and the effect of the promulgation of the decree on economic activity [private enterprise], both individual and with the participation of foreign firms, as well as other new laws and regulations being drafted, will provide an opportunity that should be skillfully exploited to spur the economies of these regions, and farm policy will be oriented toward promoting such actions.

It should be borne in mind in this connection that proper land utilization does not mean using land exclusively for farming purposes at any price. Wherever so warranted by climate and soil conditions, afforestation as well as promotion of tourist and recreational facilities should be carried out.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The implementation of many of these measures takes money. Where to get it?

[Brzostowski] We have to face the realities. Thus, we cannot count on any substantial financial support from the state budget. On the other hand, we shall spur orienting economic-financial and credit systems in the direction of promoting land utilization, growth of processing industry, services, and building materials, and also a broadly conceived social and engineering infrastructure in the countryside.

In addition, we can use various kinds of special funds, to mention only the Farmland Protection Fund, the Market Development Fund, the Industry Restructuring Fund, the Fund for the Development of Culture, and resources for colonizing the "Eastern Wall" which can be of great assistance to achieving the objectives of a regional policy.

**Citizens' Committee Health Commission Issues  
Position Statement**  
*26000349 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish  
No 6, 5 Feb 89 p 5*

[Statement issued by the Health Commission of the Citizens' Committee under the chairmanship of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity," dated 15 January 1989: "Position of Health Commission, 'Solidarity' Chairman's Citizens' Committee"]

[Text] It is the commission's finding that there has been a considerable deterioration in the health of the Polish public during the 1980's. Statistics reveal a general decline in average longevity. There has been a rise in

mortality as a result of certain diseases (circulatory system and cancer, as well as tuberculosis and diabetes). Neonatal and infant mortality continues to be high. Morbidity has increased for many diseases, and among these too there are those, such as dysentery, food poisoning, salmonella, and occupational diseases) which can be effectively prevented, if effective prophylactic measures are taken and the public health system begins to function properly.

Alongside the poverty of society, increasing environmental pollution, and working conditions in which adequate safeguards are lacking, this situation is the result of the public health service's disastrous condition and faulty operation of the public health system.

In this connection, the commission states the following:

1. The threat to the biological life of the nation is too grave for political officials to neglect health issues any longer. The existing economic crisis notwithstanding, issues of health must become one of the most important and most quickly resolved social problems.

2. It is absolutely essential that the faulty management of the health service undergo drastic changes leading to genuine socialization of the health care system. This must be facilitated, first of all, by relieving the system of bureaucratic restrictions, through the elimination of expensive, unnecessary administration which interferes with effective operation (including that of Health Care Teams, called ZOZ's, and inflated central administration). Second, medical facilities must be made independent and self-governing.

Only qualitative considerations may be used to select personnel and fields of work; the political factor must be rejected.

Any proposals for changes in the organizational system must first be made known to health service employees and should receive genuine support by a majority of this group [prior to implementation].

3. We stipulate that planned changes in the health care system must not violate the interests of those people who are the poorest and weakest in society. Therefore, steps should be taken to prevent any further inequity in access to health care for reasons of personal financial situation.

4. All moneys which ZUS, the Social Security Agency, receives for general health insurance should be subject to public review and be designated for the development of health care, and not go into the general state treasury. The funds which accumulate in this way could make a considerable contribution to reduce further deterioration in the medical treatment infrastructure.

5. We demand rapid improvement in domestic pharmaceutical production, provision for ad hoc administration (needles, injections, droppers, and so on), and other

items essential to medical treatment and rehabilitation. Management of the state pharmaceutical industry should be under the ministry of health, and pharmaceutical imports should have absolute priority in the state's import policy.

6. The wages of health care employees, because of the responsibility for human life, must be brought up to the highest rates paid in industry and mining. Internally, the public health wage steps should correspond to the real

contribution of work on behalf of the sick. It is worth noting that the average wage paid a physician (excluding overtime hours and shifts) represents 66 percent of the average paid in the coal industry (also excluding overtime). For nurses, the figure is 42 percent.

7. It is essential to create conditions for initiative independent of the state health care system. This includes registering the Solidarity Social Fund immediately in the way envisioned by the founding body.

## POLAND

### Officers Discuss Recent Cuts in Military Spending, Other Issues

26000369 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
15 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Garrisons Without Glitter"]

[Text] The changes occurring in this country are affecting the army, too. Recently (on 4 January) the minister of national defense commented in this newspaper on the restructuring of the armed forces. For yet another time in the history of the Polish People's Republic the army has decided to reduce its ranks. It has done so in the belief that this is socially necessary and that less will mean better.

What do the men in uniform, those whom the restructuring may affect, think about it? I asked some members of an armored division, and subsequently I spoke with the officers of several quartermaster units of the Warsaw Military District, namely, with: Wieslaw Dubinski, Zbigniew Mrozek, Tomasz Koscielecki, Ryszard Materka, Jerzy Zareba, Jerzy Ratajczak, and Edmund Staniszewski. These conversations led to the reflections below.

The armed forces are, like any other budget unit—or perhaps even more strongly—affected by the inflation. They are continually underfunded, particularly as regards objects of everyday use, and the more the prices rise the fewer the opportunities of the armed forces to purchase these objects in sufficient quantities are. For at least 30 years the entirely justified rule of fixing the national defense budget at the lowest possible level has applied. This has led to numerous internal conflicts, especially when the prices of food, uniforms, fuel, and primarily arms, which are the principal element of military outlays, have been rising during the implementation of financial plans. This prompted drastic cuts of discrete line items. Among other things, the purchases of certain generations of new weapons had to be abandoned.

It was much more safe to reduce the defense outlays relating to troop maintenance. In such cases appeals were made to civic conscience for belt-tightening, and this produced the intended effects.

Some 15 or so years ago the so-called rational management system began to be introduced throughout the army. That was the first and probably so far the only concept of comprehensive savings in Poland to be based on scientific principles. It concerned a thrifty use of everything! The application of that system produced many good results. Consider for example the development of crop and livestock farms and farm product processing facilities attached to army barracks, which serve to maintain a good level of nutrition for military units, despite the changes in market prices.

A 33-year-old sergeant, a licensed technician, and for the last 10 years a professional noncom, last January requested his commanding officer for permission to work for a private construction company as a bricklayer's assistant in his off-duty hours. He argued that he is the sole provider for his family, whose income per family member is below 15,000 zlotys [monthly].

The request led to a lively discussion. Recently the decree on supporting entrepreneurialism has become promulgated in this country. The press praises energetic individuals who succeed in supplementing their base pay in an honest and useful manner. But do such models also apply to military professionals? After all, they are supposed to be available and ready any time for national defense! As the saying goes, they do not work but they serve, and the time during which they perform their duties is not measurable in hours. Regular training, exercises, briefings, trips, special assignments, services, educational work with subordinates, etc., do not provide them with as much leisure time as civilian workers get. This raises the question of whether that sergeant will have enough stamina left to perform his duties properly after having worked as a bricklayer.

We have also been discussing housing. This is a nationwide problem. Within the Warsaw Military District this situation has improved owing to the unconventional operation of quartermaster services in the 1980's. Above all, quarters for soldiers performing basic military service have improved owing to the renovation (including mold removal) of ancient military barracks dating back to tsarist times, the replacement of coal-burning furnaces with central heating, the provision of hot water, and the installation of baths and laundry rooms. The diligently followed construction plans made it possible to shorten waiting time for dwellings, especially in the small garrisons situated in forest areas. In large cities the situation is still difficult. It also happens that when a military person finally is allocated his own dwelling after years of waiting, he is ordered to relocate to another locality and the cycle begins all over again. I know one officer who has been thrice transferred to various border regions of Poland and for the last 9 years has been living far from his family.

Life in small garrisons in forest areas has its specific features. The two or three apartment buildings adjoining the barracks and the distance of 15 or so trackless kilometers separating the barracks from the nearest inhabited settlement frighten away many young people who are drawn to the "great world" and the colorful life seen on television.

Then also there are the problems with children. If they are of elementary school age it is no big problem for them to attend school in the nearest village. But as for secondary school, they have to either commute to a city over a considerable distance or board out there in order to attend it.

Many army wives living in small garrison towns do no skilled work, which naturally does not help their family budgets. Some even do not look for a job at all, because that is hard to find. The countryside, as known, continues to be emptied of women, who snatch up the jobs. Besides, what about an officer's wife with a university diploma who is dreaming of finding a job in her profession?

One of my collocutors told me that a couple of years ago he moved to a town of 50,000 together with his wife, a teacher. After 2 years of attempts, she still could not find work in her profession. Only the intercession of a local parliamentary deputy with the Board of Education did help her break through the barrier of bureaucracy and illwill.

A job with the military unit can also be pursued. Many army wives of necessity accept such jobs. As a rule, however, these jobs do not match their qualifications, and moreover they sometimes result in various conflicts and misunderstandings, as when the husband's subordinate is the wife's superior.

Many of the people I talked with stressed that professional military service is inherently stressful. The motives for choosing this profession are largely nonmaterial, idealistic, emotional. Several years spent in a military school and the nature of the duties performed result in that a substantial part of the cadre identifies its fate with that of the nation and state and reacts emotionally to any national drama. Besides, in the last 10 years there have been quite a few such dramas. The years 1980-81, the martial law, and the subsequent demonstrations and strikes perturbed and saddened the professional military tremendously. After all, they invested so much effort and goodwill in normalizing the situation in this country; they sacrificed their leaves.... Thus there is nothing surprising that some of the cadre are feeling bitter.

Young soldiers complain about restrictions on foreign trips. Nowadays any citizen of Poland can keep at home a passport entitling him to travel wherever he wishes, and many do so; they travel to Turkey, Greece, Thailand, India; they visit relatives and friends in the United States or the FRG, and they work there during their vacations, thus earning costly dollars. Others are given special work contracts through the mediation of Polimeks, Cekop, and other suchlike enterprises, for work abroad in Libya, Iraq, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, or the GDR, and their wages, too, are paid in hard currencies. After all, this is how quite a few Polish citizens live. But this option is closed to persons in military uniform.

The feeling of stability. Consider how painful were the feelings of the workforce of the Lenin Shipyard when notified that it was going to be closed. By analogy, consider how officers and subalterns feel when they read about plans to scrap combat gear which until now they had kept in spit and polish condition with such effort. Unlike shipyards, military units are disbanded rapidly

and to many this means a change in the nature of service and in domicile or even transfer to civilian status. It is thus hardly surprising that the older part of the military cadre, whose health is not so good, and which lacks sufficient savings, dreads a worsening in its living conditions.

Supply. The universal complaints about empty store shelves are somewhat offset by two optimistic news items from small garrison towns. In one, a Public Inspection Team put an end to defalcations by the personnel of the local PX store who simply did not display any scarce goods. In another, a longtime store manageress hired her son and daughter to pitch in and accomplished veritable supply miracles, so that I am pleased to accede to requests and name her. She is Genowefa Nawiesniak.

Cultural life and entertainment. This is a complex issue. It is at its most difficult in winter when entertainment can generally be organized only indoors. Many club-rooms need to be renovated, yet their renovation has been postponed. Their facilities also vary. The traditional chess boards and chessmen and checkers are available everywhere and the libraries are generally adequate but the availability of musical equipment, which is hellishly expensive, is limited. I was told by way of an example about a quartermaster unit in Warmia where the sole color TV set was "won" by the Marcinki Dance Ensemble at weddings and baptisms. [FBIS note: this most likely refers to the purchase of the TV set by the Ensemble with the money it had earned]

The army means youth, and youth at present is crazy about video equipment. Few of the units with whose representatives I spoke have their own videocassette reproducing equipment. They are too poor for this. Yet most of them offer video viewings at least once a week, as a rule with the aid of equipment borrowed gratis from the plants and factories with which they cooperate. In one case the VCR was privately owned by a serviceman's family.

It can be said that nowadays it is not easy to be a soldier. Yet the soldiers of today, like those of yesterday, perform their service tasks admirably, participate in volunteer community projects, donate blood, care for inmates of orphan homes, collect scrap and herbs, and, above all, get trained and obey discipline.

Even during [the economic] crisis the army functions normally, even though garrison life has lost its glitter. As the saying goes, less may mean better.

**Changes in Military Agitprop Training Proposed**  
26000368 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
8 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Capt Jan Moskwa: "The Decline of the Old" surtitled "On Problems of Indoctrination"]

[Text] "Aw shucks, boring as hell," declared a soldier on leaving the room after an indoctrination session.

But another soldier chided him, "Shut up. It was just fine," and added, "At least one had a chance to catch a snooze."

The first soldier answered, in an envious tone, "Sure, but you were lucky enough to grab a seat at a table in the last row."

The indoctrination referred to by these soldiers was provided by an officer-grade political instructor with 10 years of experience in such teaching. Within his military unit he is a distinguished expert in this field. He is very knowledgeable about sociopolitical problems and a good teacher who employs interesting methods of instruction.

He is an unusually well-organized teacher. He was provided by the propaganda instructor with the most modern audiovisual aids in the unit. He conducts training with help from aides who include an assistant group leader and youth-organization activists.

And yet, despite such a great mobilization of resources and such great desire to conduct training interestingly, the end result proved to be, generally speaking, far from the expectations. Why? What is the reason why the above example, though on purpose quite exaggerated, is not an insolated instance and sometimes servicemen tend to respond to it and comment on it in the manner cited above?

These questions have already been repeatedly discussed in the press, in publications, and in conference and meeting rooms, among theoreticians and practitioners of political indoctrination.

It is not my aim to repeat their answers. But I will make bold to extract from the diagnoses, prescriptions, recommendations, thoughts, and reflections an idea that is too often relegated to a secondary plane. I perceive the causes of the current situation to lie in the predominance of form over content.

Form has become to us the goal; it has become nearly everything. Viewing it as the sole way of assuring the desired effectiveness of political indoctrination has resulted in orienting intellectual-organizational potential toward its constant enrichment and refinement.

In such a situation the content of that indoctrination itself has begun to become obsolete and it no longer is adapted to the processes taking place.

Many group leaders are of this opinion, particularly those teaching political indoctrination over many years. By way of an example, they cite training programs that have not been changed for many years.

The proof that the subject matter of the political indoctrination of personnel in basic military service have undergone only cosmetic changes can be found by comparing, for example, "The 1989-90 Program for the

Political Indoctrination of Professional Soldiers, Graduates of Civilian Higher Schools, and Noncommissioned Officers, Officer Cadets, and Privates in Basic Military Service" with the program of the same title for the years 1987-88.

Should then the currently mandatory program for the political indoctrination of basic military service personnel be viewed as poor and unsuitable? No, this cannot nor may be said. For that would hurt both the program itself and the people who prepared it.

The point, however, is that the program to be followed for the next 2 years ensues from the organizational system for political indoctrination. And it is precisely that system which nowadays elicits many doubts. And changes in that system are nowadays being discussed by various groups of experts. These discussions engender various ideas and concepts, quite a few of them.

This general movement for a change and for proposals is not, unfortunately, reaching the decisionmakers. This is due to various reasons. It happens that the author of an idea does not know what to do with his "brainchild." But it also happens that the obstacle consists in the low passing capacity of service channels for the flow of information between the proposer and the decisionmaker.

Being desirous of not only commenting on the matter but also championing innovations, since these are as yet absent, I resolved to present my concept for modified political indoctrination and propaganda among basic military service personnel.

I propose that a 2-year curriculum defined as "Patriotic Education of Servicemen" be adopted. The courses offered would be in "Civic Education" and "Political Information."

These courses would be taught alternately, at 2-week intervals, 2 hours per interval.

The purpose of "Civic Education," which resembles a regular school course, would be to enhance and consolidate in troops the level of their sociopolitical knowledge, develop their defense awareness, and assure a broad personality development of the young citizen of socialist Poland.

I propose accordingly the following general curriculum:

First Year of Service:

—Nature and meaning of the national and coalition defense doctrine;

—Rights and duties of servicemen;

—Progressive traditions of the Polish Army;



—Progressive sociopolitical thought throughout Polish history.

Second Year of Service:

- Political organization of the socialist society;
- Principal aspects of economic relations, both domestic and within the socialist community;
- Selected problems of the labor law code;
- The citizen and the government office.

From the above curriculum framework two groups of principal objectives for each year of military service can be singled out.

Thus, the purpose of the "Civic Education" of 1st-year servicemen would be to develop their moral and combat qualities and shape their patriotic and civic attitudes on the basis of role models taken from the progressive and revolutionary traditions of Poland and the Polish nation, as well as to spur in servicemen the ambition to perform their tasks in a model manner and to strive to be the first in service and in training.

During the second year of military service the following objectives would be pursued: preparing servicemen for active participation in public life; cultivating social sensitivity; and enhancing general knowledge to improve the understanding of the processes occurring in this country and abroad and to interpret them properly.

The subject "Civic Education" would be taught by subunit commanders, without calling them leaders of political training groups. The basic instructional material would be a substantive and well-edited textbook bearing just this title. The topics taught should be of a supratemporal nature and not subject to obsolescence.

A course complementary to "Civic Education" would be "Political Information," which would supersede, to some extent only, the current political indoctrination. Its purpose would be to inform military personnel about current events, comment on them, and prepare personnel for events anticipated in the near future. Another important purpose of "Political Information" would be to augment the servicemen's knowledge needed to properly understand and interpret these events.

"Political Information" would be taught only by regular instructors from the party apparatus as well as by volunteer members of that apparatus. Its subject matter would be worked out a month ahead by the Main Political Inspectorate of the Polish Army and disseminated telegraphically among units.

This would be accompanied by an extensive and detailed bibliography specifying not only periodicals and books but also particular articles and chapters. This is an indispensable requirement in view of the tremendous avalanche of information with which we are dealing at present.

Such is, hugely abridged, my proposal for a new concept of indoctrination and propaganda among basic military service personnel. Naturally, many of its aspects have yet to be refined and perhaps also modified. At any rate it can be viewed as the point of departure for further reflections.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Railway Modernization Detailed

23000136 East Berlin EISENBAHNPRAXIS in German  
No 1, 1989 pp 3-4

[Article by Reiner Enders, deputy director general of the Deutsche Reichsbahn for transport: "Broad Application of Key Technologies and Greater Rationalization To Increase Performance Capability and Effectiveness in the Railway Transportation Process"]

[Text]

#### Significant Performances by Railway Personnel

In carrying out the economic strategy of the SED, in the past years railway personnel made a significant contribution to implementing the major task in its unity of economic and social policy. In implementing the energy and housing construction program, the railway increased its transport volume by 44 million tons since 1980. That is equivalent to a 50 days' work increase.

Through intensive use of available resources, since 1980 the specific production consumption of the Deutsche Reichsbahn [German Reich Railway] in relation to goods production was lowered by about 7 percent. Thereby, and due to the increase in transportation, industrial and construction-related performances of the railway, net production was raised to 128 percent, and work productivity to 122 percent. Over 70 percent of available resources and accounts were used for rationalization and modernization.

Electrification of lines constitutes the major focal point of rationalization, tied to simultaneous modernization of the fleet of locomotives. Since 1980, approximately 1,600 km of track were electrified. Thereby the share of the overall rail transport service effected by electric locomotives could be raised from about 20 percent to more than 45 percent. Cumulatively, 800 kilotons of diesel fuel were saved; that corresponds to more than one year of consumption by the railway. Since 1980, the absolute energy consumption for rail transport dropped by almost 30 percent, although rail transport service during the same period rose by 9 percent. Process automation occupied an important place in rationalization of the railway. The application of microelectronics and robot technology took center stage. By using microelectronics on the basis of [our] own production and assembly capacities, greater efficiency was achieved, particularly in the dispatch processes of passenger and freight traffic, control of trains running, scheduling the use of locomotives and freight cars, preparation of timetables, and processes in preparation of construction. So far, over 1,700 CAD/CAM stations are in use where approximately 6,000 railway employees are at work.

Through our] own production and use of 1,930 robot units since 1980, we managed to eliminate jobs for 5,000 workers, particularly in the shunting service as well as in industrial and construction-related processes. In the

Cottbus Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk [railway repair works], a large-scale enterprise for locomotive repairs, the production process was converted entirely to a computer-assisted base and linked with the introduction of laser technology for hardening crankshafts for large diesel locomotives and for cutting large-scale planar seals.

The use of high-performance railway track technology together with microcomputer-assisted construction technology—particularly as of 1986/87—contributes to increasing work productivity to 180 percent in track maintenance, especially under the conditions of short periods of track closings. This creates the prerequisites for gradually shortening again the temporarily longer travel times.

Considerable rationalization effects were achieved by closing and concentrating, respectively, operational posts. Since 1980, more than 80 modern NX towers have replaced obsolete signal boxes with a limited operational range. Three hundred and sixty railroad crossing barriers, operated manually, were replaced with automatic installations. Thereby the technological labor force was reduced by 2,000. The closing and concentration of operational posts at the same time eliminates unsatisfactory working conditions such as isolation, monotony and heavy physical labor. These and other measures also created decisive prerequisites for further increasing the safety of railway operation and limiting subjective mistakes. After 1980, among other things, more than 1,200 km of railroad tracks were equipped with distributed train controls, and 2,700 km of track train radio communication. The introduction of radio communication created the possibility of constant communication between the engineer, station master and dispatcher and thus makes possible a greater measure of safety and an energy-saving manner of rail traffic.

For better control of the extremely dense use of track under the conditions of mixed passenger and freight traffic, the German railway concentrates on raising the technological standards of railroad operation through computer-assisted planning and information systems. For example, software solutions were developed for planning optimal making-up of trains and optimal construction sites distribution in the track grid.

In the passenger traffic of the German railway, dispatching processes were made considerably more efficient in recent years through consistent application of microelectronics, and the quality of passenger processing was noticeably improved. This development was achieved mainly through extension of the self-service principle in ticket sales, further development of microcomputer-assisted counter service as well as expansion and density of the booking network for electronic seat reservations.

The rationalization pace achieved so far in the railway system made it possible to satisfy incessantly growing transport demands with a labor force remaining constant.

But the pace must be further increased to keep up with the growing qualitative demands on railway performance and to create the capacity reserves necessary for a reliable railway operation under all conditions. Hence the German railway is setting for itself the challenging goal, through scientific-technical and work-organizational measures, to reduce the demand for technological personnel by 3,000 workers annually and to improve working conditions at the same time. For this purpose, above all the experiences gained in applying the Schwedt initiative, for example at the Eisenach service site and at the Halle Reichsbahn management, are energetically transferred to other offices.

By the 40th anniversary of the GDR, railroad personnel within the framework of this initiative want to reduce the size of the labor force by at least 2 percent in selected railway service sites with [simultaneously] growing transport performances. A further increase in our own production of rationalization means is a decisive prerequisite for success in further rationalization of the German railway. It is planned for the coming years to increase our own production of rationalization means by 6 to 7 percent annually. For 1990 it is planned to produce rationalization means by the railway in the amount of over 380 million marks.

#### Main Directions of Science and Technology

The following main scientific-technical directions for greater rationalization of the railway are derived from past experience:

1. Commuter, school and general travel, being an inseparable component of the social policy of our party and our state with regard to the quality and effectiveness of all its elements—dispatch, information, transportation and support service—must be adapted to the level of societal development in the GDR. That includes tasks such as:

- punctuality, cleanliness, information for travelers, services in the express train network and in commuter transport,
- further expansion of the microcomputer-assisted dispatch system, whereby greater use must be made of the principle of self-service and cashless payment transactions,
- the complex mechanization of outside and inside cleaning of the vehicles and installations,
- gradual separation of commuter train traffic from the rest of the rail grid, and its more productive and people-effective design.

2. To ensure the railway's function in freight transport as an economic growth and effectiveness factor, particularly to secure the necessary supply transports, above all for the coal industry, energy supply, the construction material industry and steelworks, and transition to a

low-storage production in the economy requires the complex rationalization of the economic flow of materials. That applies to all areas and collectives participating in the rail transport process. Its focal points are tasks, to be solved jointly with industry, concerned with lowering the economic transport expenditure by approximately 3 percent per year, and lowering the working capital in stock in the circulation sector through further improvement of transport connections and continuous use of available transport capacity, as well as qualified cooperation with the transport sectors of road transportation, inland waterways shipping, and ocean shipping.

Focal tasks for implementation of this main direction are, among other things:

- establishing computer-assisted chains of production and transportation means to lower transportation expenditure and reduce costs for production, transportation, transshipment and storage,
- the effective design of work at the areas of junction through coordinated technologies and application of productive transshipment equipment and unified transportation containers,
- introduction of the technology of data exchange without vouchers ("electronic waybill") for a fundamental rationalization of labor-intensive dispatch processes at the transport customers' and the railway.

3. The technological level of transport preparation and execution must be increased on the basis of stabilization and modernization of the track grid and rolling stock, expanded electrification, as well as an effective computer-assisted, centralized operation management.

This main direction requires solving tasks such as:

- shaping a modern communications infrastructure covering the entire network to strengthen centralized operation management and implementation of transportation logistics,
- the broadly effective, computer-assisted design of the timetable and technologies for construction operations,
- establishing computer-assisted information systems for network-wide recording, supervision and disposition of the rolling stock with the inclusion of computer-assisted dispatch centers for supervising the running of trains,
- complex rationalization of operation management in the network of branch railway lines on the basis of establishing a modern train guidance system, modernization of signal towers and dispatch technology.

4. The electrification of track, as the central piece of rationalization, must be continued at the pace attained in 1990. As is well-known, the 2,000th kilometer of electrified track is to be put into service for the 40th anniversary of our republic. The strategic goal-setting plans to expand electric rail transportation to all lines determining performance, to be essentially finished by the year 2000, and to increase the share of electric rail transportation to approximately 80 percent in its completed stage. An average savings of 9 kilotons of diesel fuel and reduction of operating costs can be achieved per 100 km of electrified track.

It includes tasks such as:

- reducing influence on railway operation through the deliberate application of model technologies in the construction of conductor line installations,
- increasing the share of highly productive foundation procedures (drilling and pile-driving).

5. The reconstruction and expansion of the track grid must be carried out as a complex renewal process in connection with further track electrification, implementation of the full effectiveness of electric traction, and increased use of modern safety and information technology.

Among other things, the following scientific-technical tasks must be solved:

- Under the conditions of high stress on the railway grid and the resultant demand for "driving and building," productive mechanisms for preproduction and construction implementation must be developed and made available, computer-assisted procedures and diagnostic methods must be comprehensively applied to achieve high use values in short construction times with little impairment of railway operation, and to make construction and construction-preparing processes purposefully efficient, in order to thereby create the precondition for complex construction and gradual transition from piecemeal implementation of construction works to continuous track work.
- To lower the expenditure of material, costs and labor, preservation of the line, depending on conditions, must be introduced on the basis of technical line diagnostics and computer-assisted data processing.
- Simultaneously, the use of track R 65, which can tolerate greater stress, must be ensured as well as the development and networkwide use of rail construction needing little material and maintenance, particularly rail fastening devices.

6. The shunt yards, the performance-determining junctions of freight traffic, must be laid out in such a way that shunt work is largely automated and that their number can be reduced from the present 160 to fewer than 100 efficient shunt yards.

The following tasks must be solved:

- mechanization and increased performance capability of existing rail networks through incorporation of shunting equipment manufactured by [our] own production, and modernization of safety and telecommunications installations.
- creation of the scientific-technical precondition for establishing automated high-performance shunt yards in the areas of Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and Magdeburg as a prerequisite for concentrating train make-up work.

7. The performance capability of the railway must be further increased through continuous modernization of the safety and telecommunications technology with the simultaneous release of personnel, particularly from jobs which due to their inadequate working conditions can hardly be filled anymore.

8. Regular reproduction of the rolling stock, especially freight cars, must be ensured through an increase of one's own performance capability in maintenance and new construction, through a balanced ratio between procurement and attrition, through determined lowering of the need and expenditure for repairs, as well as through intensive measures to increase availability and reliability.

This main direction requires the solution of the following tasks, among other things:

- In maintenance and new construction, key technologies and flexible automation must be applied.
- In decisive sections of the maintenance and new construction processes, highly productive technologies must be introduced on the basis of assembly lines well as partially and fully automated production lines.

It is now a matter of state managers organizing work in such a manner that the conditions necessary for fulfilling the tasks are created. In this they must be actively supported by party organizations whereby comrades assume personal obligations for focal points and put under party control the initiative projects in honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. The year 1989 must be made a year of breakthrough for the German railway in the stabilization of performance capability and implementation of the complex renewal process.

#### **Combine Management, Administrative Functions Automated**

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ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT in German  
Vol 33, No 1, 1989 pp 17-22

[Article by economists Joachim Bolz and Wilfried Peller of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany—GDR) Central Committee: "Management and Administration Rationalization by Modern Information Technologies"]

[Text] The increasingly computerized combine and industrial enterprises provide innovative opportunities for management and administrative efficiency. The task

consists of "using modern computer technology to eliminate certain work functions and thus to free manpower for other duties in production and the economy. However, this is possible only if modern computer technology accessible in the workplace is not superimposed upon existing work sequences, but rather if the entire working organization is initially configured in the most efficient possible manner so as to take advantage of the new opportunities."<sup>1</sup>

The developing office automation is causing qualitative changes in the form and content of management and administrative activities; it changes the modus operandi of managers and specialists and leads to new forms of division of labor and cooperation in the management process. It includes computer-supported implementation of economic processes and the management and planning of reproductive tasks. This markedly improves the operational efficiency of management, planning and managerial functions.<sup>2</sup>

What is the main impact by modern information technology upon the modernization of management and administrative functions?

1. Information becomes available in an improved, structured form in minimum time at low cost. This is brought about, as shown by the experiences of the Brandenburg Quality and High-Grade Steel Combine or the Teltow Electronic Spare Parts Combine, by the following:

- computer-supported work stations in management and administration (e.g., planner, accountant, investment expert, manpower planner, etc);
- computer-supported work stations for the planning, economics and accounting professional specialty areas of the combine or plant (e.g., research, development, construction, technology), to reduce the administrative workload of managers and specialists (e.g., through computer-supported establishment and control of ID card renewals and job descriptions);
- computer-supported management information systems for the general manager and his staff functions (e.g., office, scientific employees, department heads, business management group, etc.), especially in the form of computer-supported management work stations;
- computer-supported data communications within the combine (parent unit) or plant, as well as with economic directive and other agencies (ministries, State Plan Commission, Central State Administration for Statistics, State Bank, local state agencies, territorial party offices etc.).

2. With its availability of effective computer equipment located at the work place, of main frame computers and data banks, of local and supraregional networks and

forms of communication, modern information and communications technology provides the prerequisites for more efficient preparatory and actual planning of the entire reproduction process and its individual phases in plants and combines. At the same time, this provides opportunities for modernizing management and administration.

In making general use of past experience, such as in the ore mining, metallurgy and potash fields, this requires a gradual establishment of networks linking the office, personnel and work station computers and the construction of technical and other data banks, all of which requires careful preparation.<sup>3</sup> This will require development of a hierarchic system of electronic data processing facilities and office and personal computers in all combines and plants as well as in the ministry—a system which would permit perspectively local networks and varied types of long range data transmission. This process would create work stations equipped with terminals, converting all work stations having impact upon management and planning of the reproduction process in the ministry, in the combines and plants. Special care must be taken in this context to observe the integrative capability of the subordinate systems at all management levels, management offices and plan components.

In the state enterprise "Paul Schaefer" shoe factory in Erfurt, for example, the multiple use of one-time data leads to considerable efficiency effects. By using the "technological data bank" it became possible to divert 12 percent of available technical personnel to other tasks. Systems of this sort produce similar effects in planning (article file), payroll (permanent employees' file), in sales (sales strategy) and in materiel management (materiel inventory file "Central Supply Catalog").

3. The gradual integration of computer-assisted solutions contributes to the capability of controlling the cycle of intensively augmented reproduction in the combines and their plants in a more complex manner and in all its phases. This creates opportunities not only for growth in efficiency and productivity, but also in economizing the functions of management and administration.

In Dresden's Brilliant Combine the technologically oriented CAD/CAM system for computer-assisted production, sales and efficiency planning (REPRO), with a computer-assisted management information system leads to a complex universal plant management solution, causing a manpower saving in such areas as production planning, guidance and control.

4. The extension of local and supraregional networks until the year 2000 will have a positive impact upon management and administrative modernization. For example, in Dresden's State Enterprise Robotron Project, the plant manager and his seven department heads are each linked with a PC 1715 in the local Rolanet I network.<sup>4</sup> Cabling to the organization and computer center was provided by fiber optic cable,



between the personal computers by coaxial cable. The software includes the basic software of the local network (LAN) of the Robotron Combine and the user programs of the special areas and cross sectionally oriented components (e.g., data organization, controlled access, data security, dialogue). User programs are available for accounting and statistics, monitoring of plan implementation, office efficiency, sales/export, R&D. Presently available are the desired and actual values for 43 index numbers for production and sales per month. Also accessible are plan deviation, percentual relations, and prior year comparable figures. The specialized structure area concerned is responsible for correct data input, which is entered at the appropriate LAN terminal. Index numbers are shown for a 12-month period or for a desired reporting period (month, quarter). Developing trends can be depicted graphically from the derived index numbers. At the Robotron Combine for instance, there are plans to use the automated information system, based on local networks, to shorten processing times for certain information complexes.

To be successful in improving management and administrative procedures, the decentralized computer hardware must be carefully prepared so as to take into consideration all technical, organizational and social aspects. Even today, prospective developmental tendencies of computer-integrated manufacturing processes must be accommodated, by analyzing and setting up CAD, automated production and office work in their mutual interfaces and special situations. The fact that CAD/CAM has not been entirely satisfactory to date in effecting labor savings in combines and plants is primarily due to insufficient preparation, to underestimating the analyses of work cycles, and to insufficient one-on-one instruction of each employee about his personal contribution to improving management and administration.

Pervasive use of computer systems (choice of areas of use, restructuring of tasks and responsibilities, uniformity and adaptability of desired solutions) has a decisive impact on the ability to conserve manpower.

Utilization of currently operating computer hardware must be carefully analyzed so as to draw conclusions for the careful preparation of additional office and personal computer facilities. It has been useful in the past to determine the following: manpower conservation per installation, time in use for each computer, user regime, number of qualified employees per computer, software used by each computer, causes for down time, computer failures and their causes.

Experience to date indicates that in the CAD/CAM concepts and in the combine microelectronics concepts the programs for effecting economies in management and administrative personnel could be further qualified and updated. This is especially true for qualitative changes in management and administration through decentralized computer hardware, the goal of manpower conservation and a clear indication of where the personnel who were

in eliminated jobs are to be placed and how they are to become qualified for new jobs. Detailed indications should also be given for locating the responsibility for manpower savings achieved per office and personal computer and per CAD/CAM station, as well as for the monitoring and evaluation results achieved and the material and moral stimulation for effecting manpower savings.

In modern combines, such as the State Enterprise Mansfeld Wilhelm Pieck Combine, the CAD/CAM concepts are closely linked with the concepts of social work capability. Economic management specialists are used also for the functional preparation of CAD/CAM work stations.

The Mansfeld Combine revised the concept for the economical utilization of social work capacity for the period leading up to 1990 and the 1988 Plan, for the purpose of further increasing the contribution made by electronic data processing, microcomputer technology and CAD/CAM solutions to improvements in management and administration. Until 1990, 200 CAD/CAM stations are to be installed annually, 100 of them in management and administration. Sixty percent of management personnel savings should derive from this source.

Careful preparation for use of decentralized computer hardware also includes the appropriate software. "Studies have shown that the quality of the software exercises a decisive impact on the economical configuration of work cycles...and upon efficiency. These problems concerning high-quality software must be accorded greater attention and firm standards must be set for it."<sup>5</sup> Software for management and administrative functions is currently available in the GDR in many different types and formats. For purposes of further upgrading, every combine and plant must decide which available software solutions could be placed into use and/or adapted.

Increasing attention will have to be paid to software ergonomics. This includes as easily comprehensible and clear dialogue and menu control as well as effective masking/window and graphics. The increasing use of 16-bit computer hardware with colored graphics offers new opportunities which should be used with an eye toward the future. This makes it necessary that software specialists confer early on with management scientists and the eventual users on programs to be produced. Valuable guidelines for this are contained in GDR norm TGL 44690, effective 15 December 1988, "Display Unit Operating Position," including page 04, "Discernibility of Characters" and page 05, "System User Interface."

Managers must be required to apply strict standards to the preparation for use of office and personal computers. Only those departments or divisions receive these "thinking tools," e.g., in the Frankfurt/Oder Semiconductor Plant, which adhere to labor saving norms and

make effective use of the hardware. It has proven effective to conduct organizational projections for automation, reconstruction or modernization measures or for new facilities or departments jointly between the enterprise organization and the user department, so as to reduce the management and administrative effort to a minimum.

Comprehensive preparation and training of the employees concerned is an inseparable component of the preparation for use of decentralized computer hardware. This starts with software. Expansion of software potential and the software for management and administrative functions, including the reuse of proven solutions, was a basic prerequisite in metallurgy for any successful applications, which were brought about by clear statements of objectives by the minister and the general managers. One combine at the ministerial level is given responsibility for individual subsystems in these cases, their testing and adaptability in other combines.

A comprehensive training program of skilled workers in clerical positions and additional cadres was an inseparable component of this process. It was conducted as a responsibility of the combines, with reference to the work stations concerned in curricula containing a high percentage of practical exercises. Small training classes facilitated the acquisition of proficiency in practical applications in the use of computer hardware. For the purpose of further management upgrading it is planned that the opportunities created by new training plans for specialists in management skills (e.g., commercial clerks) will be thoroughly exploited in all combines and enterprises. These specialists receive training in the use of decentralized computer hardware, which qualifies them for working with standard software. To promote the use of these capabilities and knowledge without delay, it has proven useful to assign junior specialists in management positions primarily to office and personal computers. In this connection, every combine and enterprise is to conduct a careful analysis on how many trainees in management positions will actually be needed in future years, when decentralized computer hardware will be increasingly used. Adult training for management positions in colleges should be examined in this context. Advanced degrees should be sought in only exceptional cases; emphasis should be placed on work station-related advanced training in the use of decentralized computer hardware.

There is a need also for timely training of cadres charged with the care, maintenance and repair of the office and personal computers in management and administration. The more computer support there is in use, the more important is the quick elimination of breakdowns, in a coordinated cooperation by several enterprises in a territory. Early commitments must be made for this in joint negotiations.

For the long range, managers must be trained and become proficient in the use of data banks and local networks. The concept of local networks must be discussed early on with the prospective users so as to

indoctrinate them with the fact that the installation of terminals depends on specific requirements of the reproduction process, rather than primarily on past management levels and structures.

For the data bank concept it must be emphasized that the using manager/specialist will be provided with only those data which he urgently requires to raise the effectiveness of his work. Local networks are intended primarily to reduce the workload of managers, rather than to provide more information for one and all. Clearly indoctrinating the work force with the objective of generating more effective management activity includes turning down unjustifiable requests by individual managers after they access a local network. Sympathetic understanding must be accorded to those cadres, managers and specialists who will not be linked to the local network either now or at any time, so as to maintain and enhance their motivation. Access to the local network does not indicate the importance of a team; it shows where management and specialist tasks can best be economized.

Necessary changes in the management and working style must be discussed early on with the managers and their staffs. The effectiveness of management information systems depends largely upon the extent to which they economize management and administrative functions, improve the decision making process and shorten it. Every manager must therefore be informed of changes in his working style with decentralized computer hardware, what personal preparations he must make to this end, how he will become proficient in using the computer and which work cycles must be changed to conform to the management system.

Teams for creating the software for the personal and office computers and for the maintenance of computer and communications equipment of the management information systems must be trained ahead of time. Past experience indicates that with the increasing use of decentralized computers a majority of managers and administrative personnel must be proficient in the use of the computer. Out of about 550 employees of the main plant of the Brillant Combine, 80, most of them from the science and technology, production, sales and economics departments, know how to use office and personal computers. Fourteen are proficient in programming. One important prerequisite is for the establishment of a dialogue between the user and the personal computer, enabling the greatest possible number of employees to solve their programmed tasks efficiently after a brief instruction period. It has proven useful in the combine to have a largely standardized course of indoctrination.

The managers' openness and their readiness to work with management information systems holds great promise for furthering the managers' coordinated collaboration and for increasing their exchange of information and their expertise of the entire reproduction process. This requires the general manager to provide clear

instructions and close monitoring, as well as a psychologically insightful rapport with each manager. A thoroughly cooperative attitude, mutual assistance, criticism and self-criticism in the management collective become more important with the use of the computer-assisted management information systems and must therefore be accorded greater attention in teamwork and in political and ideological activities.

#### Footnotes

1. "Continuing on with the Strength of the Combines along the Guidelines of the Eleventh Party Conference." Seminar of the SED Central Committee with the general managers of the combines and party organizers of the Central Committee on 10 and 11 March 1988 in Leipzig. From the address by Politburo member and CC [Central Committee] Secretary Guenter Mittag, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1988, p 49).

2. (See also Authors' Collective (directed by H. Koziol/J. Pfothenhauer/Th. Schmieder): "Experience with CAD/CAM," Verlag Die Wirtschaft, Berlin 1988, p 135-143)

3. The following information is derived from: K. Singhuber: "Results, Experiences and Conclusions in Completely Automated Management and Planning in the Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash Industrial Areas," unpublished manuscript, Central Institute for Socialist Economic management of the SED CC, 1988)

4. (See D. Horn/R. Nitschke/W. Wittsack: "Management Information System and Office Effectiveness Upgrading of the Local Rolanet I Network." In: Fourth Congress of GDR Informatics Specialists, Info 88, 22 to 26 February 1988, Dresden, Lectures 2, pp 291 to 295)

5. ("With the Power of the Combines..." *ibid*, p 58)

### POLAND

**Trade Turnover Growth With FRG Noted**  
26000371b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
1 Feb 89 p 7

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "Trade With the FRG Increases by 20 Percent"]

[Text] Bonn (from our regular correspondent)—Polish-FRG trade has, despite the known difficulties due to Polish indebtedness and the financial restrictions imposed by the Federal Republic, increased by more than 20 percent in 1988, reaching 5,85 billion German marks or close to its previous historic peak in 1985. We are the only country other than the GDR to attain a trade surplus with that demanding partner.

The growth of Polish exports occurred owing to, among other things, the more favorable price ratios for our traditional goods as well as the rise, consonant with the reform of foreign trade, of a new group of exporters

offering a broader variety of merchandise. For the first time, raw materials accounted for only one-half of Polish exports. The FRG is, as emphasized by official Bonn circles, the largest Polish trade partner in the West, and it accounts for more than 11 percent of the entire Polish foreign trade. It is a fact, however, that owing to the maintenance of financial and credit restrictions by the FRG, Poland has to acquire for hard currencies more than 85 percent of the goods imported from that country, which clearly restricts its purchasing possibilities and deviates from the customary rules of international trade.

This was mentioned at a meeting on 27 January in the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Embassy in Cologne, held at the invitation of Ambassador Ryszard Karski, and attended by more than 150 leading representatives of the economic and commercial life of the FRG, including Secretary of State at the Federal Ministry of the Economy von Wurzen and the Chairman of the Commission for the Eastern German Economy Otto Wolff von Amerongen. During that meeting the previous head of our BRH [most likely BRiH: Bank of Skilled Craft Industries and Trade] Minister Plenipotentiary Ryszard Ceglowski was accorded an official farewell and his successor was presented to Minister Helmut Floeth.

In a conversation with the TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Wolff von Amerongen said he appreciated greatly his recent meeting with Prime Minister Rakowski, which was attended by representatives of the economic and financial life of the FRG. By directly conversing with the head of the PRL government they could familiarize themselves with the directions of the Polish economic and social reforms and with the position of the Polish government on the question of debt restructuring and the renewal of lines of credit for specified investment projects.

The West German economic activists said they were expecting that, following a settlement of the open question of credit and indebtedness, there would arise a situation enabling Poland and the FRG to develop and expand industrial and investment cooperation which now has considerable chances for success under the new Polish laws. Much now depends on the political decisions of the government of Chancellor Kohl.

**Official Clarifies Foreign Investment Regulations**  
26000372b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
8 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Zdzislaw Skakuj, president, Agency for Foreign Investment Affairs, by Stanislaw Romanowski: "A Double Opportunity" subtitled "Joint Ventures"; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are TRYBUNA LUDU introduction]

[Text] Last January the Agency for Foreign Investment Affairs was established. Its purpose is to pursue a policy of cooperating with the foreign capital interested in investing in Poland.

Considerable criticism is elicited by the fact that, pursuant to the Decree on Economic Activity with the Participation of Foreign Entities, a foreign investor may be refused permission to invest his capital in Poland without being given an explanation. Doubts also are elicited by the provision requiring in some cases the application for a special permit to conduct business.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] How is this to be reconciled with the principle of economic freedom which is being mentioned so much nowadays? We asked this question of Zdzislaw Skakuj, the president of the Agency.

[Skakuj] Basically the Decree does not prohibit anything, but not just any capital can or should be allowed to enter this country. A special permit is required for several subsectors. After all, a permit cannot be granted to a terrorist organization desirous of manufacturing weapons—or pharmaceuticals that could poison one-half of the population. Does the refusal have to be justified in such cases?

There is besides one other important issue of a legal nature. An investor who is refused a permit is not yet at that time subject to Polish law. Therefore, he cannot appeal the refusal, just as an applicant who is refused a visa cannot appeal the decision.

#### **Practically Everyone Is Told 'Yes'**

[TRYBUNA LUDU] So far we have been discussing decisions that say "no." What about the decisions that say "yes"?

[Skakuj] We can by now speak of a broad gamut of measures being taken to bring closer to foreign investors the image of Poland as a highly attractive investment market for their capital. We are completing the printing of multilingual versions of the Decree. We shall endeavor to disseminate the text of that decree, provided with a commentary, wherever needed, along with a promotional bulletin.

We also shall promote the idea of attracting foreign capital through personal contacts. Potential investors will know what to think of the Decree by having its text on hand and knowing the opinions of experts. But if I tell some such potential investor that in some part of our country there exist particularly favorable conditions for investment: local raw materials or a labor pool, that will be particularly important information to him. In other words, this will concern demonstrating our untapped abilities and production potential.

This has been part of my activities and those of the agency I am directing so far as attracting foreign capital is concerned. But so far as the domestic situation is concerned, we have to tailor that capital to specific local conditions.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] A separate issue is how to interest Polish enterprises in cooperating with foreign capital. Will the Agency also be active in that direction?

[Skakuj] That will be an important aspect of our activity. Many Polish enterprises still do not realize the huge advantages they can derive from capital cooperation with foreign partners.

Combining a Polish enterprise manufacturing a finished product with a foreign coproducer can yield substantial profits to both partners.

#### **Yeast for the Dough**

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Foreign Capital could also assist in the restructuring of our industry.

[Skakuj] I believe that foreign capital should become to our industry what yeast is to dough. Despite all my optimism I must say, however, that we shall not bake that dough into bread all at once. The results will come later, but the turning point must occur now, once the Parliament passes the entire package of accompanying decrees.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] What capital do we count on—big or small? And are the conditions we have created for attracting it sufficiently attractive?

[Skakuj] Both. There is also room for potential Polonia investors who want to open a business in Poland. I am deeply convinced that such investments are as safe as they are profitable, from the standpoint of both the advantages ensuing from a successful business and the strengthening of bonds between Western Poles and the land of their fathers.

As for the conditions provided for foreign capital, it can be generally said that it is invested wherever the profits are the highest.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Not only there, but also wherever it is assured of stable conditions; in other words, wherever the political and economic situation is stable and foreign capital can avail itself of the existing infrastructure and relatively high standard of services and, of course, high profits.

[Skakuj] It is true that the Polish political-economic situation is still far from stable, that our infrastructure is underdeveloped, and that we lack many things. But let us consider this more closely.

As regards stability, that has to be assessed by the investors themselves. In this respect, verbal assurances do not matter, however loudly trumpeted they may be; the best safeguard is a calm analysis of what the new government is proposing and doing.



Another matter that you raised is the poor infrastructure. But that precisely is an attraction and at the same time an opportunity to foreign capital. If the infrastructure is missing, then foreign capital will build it. This is as good a business as any, or perhaps even more lucrative.

Yet another matter is that ours is one of the best-educated societies in Europe. We have a huge human capital, young well-educated people who feel frustrated by the lack of opportunities for properly utilizing their skills and knowledge and energies. Not without importance also is our location in the middle of Europe.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] Another important aspect of this whole thing is the social aspect. What will be the reaction of our society, considering that for more than 40 years it had been taught to view capitalism in its traditional 19th-century form?

[Skakuj] There still exist many adherents of the view that the government wants to impose some vaguely defined rules of the game in order to accomplish some vaguely defined goals. Well, that is not true. It is simply that the government is attempting to understand properly the laws of economics. Hence, if we desire to bring economic life in order so as to make it consonant with laws of economics, we must subordinate ourselves to these laws. The government is creating suitable conditions for this, but the results are up to all of us.

#### **Role of Farmers Circles in Multifaceted Rural Development**

26000371a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
1 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Halina Dowda: "Agriculture With Industry in One Village"]

[Text] It is normal to commute to work into town from the country. But the converse is again being considered. Even before the concept of "multifaceted development of the countryside and agriculture" became developed, some industry has arisen in the gminas [rural townships].

The traditional flour mills, distilleries, and dairies have been reached by the new generation of industry: feed plants, carbonated water bottling plants, and even branch factories of some large plants. In the absence of publicity, agricultural circle cooperatives have initiated manufacturing and coproduction operations.

Could the agricultural circles translate into a multifaceted rural development? That was one of the many questions asked by the participants in a conference organized by the Scientific Council of the National Association of Agricultural Circle Farmers and Agricultural Organizations and by the Institute for the Development of the Countryside and Agriculture, Polish Academy of Sciences. The conference, held on 31 January in Warsaw, was attended by Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

What is to be the nature of multifaceted rural development? If this idea is reduced to providing jobs, it would be greatly impoverished. But the point of departure is the available labor pool as well as the huge rural demand for everything: for farm equipment, spare parts, machinery repair, services, and crop processing.

The development of varied economic activity in the countryside offers, as stressed during the conference, precisely a chance which has until now not been appreciated. The need for a new philosophy of rural development is even being mentioned—the need for facilitating the efflux of manpower from farming, but not necessarily (contrary to what was thought previously) from the countryside; the need to combine farming with the development of crafts, tourism, etc., etc.

The thus conceived economic development of the countryside affords greater opportunities to the rural population for both earnings and achieving its aspirations in life. This can also be a way of keeping the young on the farm.

The attainment of these goals is favored by the changes now taking place, and certainly by the freedom of economic activity [free enterprise]. But preferential treatment is indispensable—there can be no doubt about it.

#### **State Farms Differ on Subsidy, Tax, Demonopolization Issues**

26000372a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
10 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Stanislaw Witoslawski, chairman, National Board of State Farms Union, by Edmund Szot: "We Count on Further Reforms"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Mr Chairman, how did state farms do last year?

[Witoslawski] If you expect exact figures, I am sorry to disappoint you. Our Union does not deal in statistics. We use the same source as everyone else, meaning the figures of the GUS [Main Statistical Administration]. And at the moment all we know is the size of the rape and grain harvests.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Then you do not know whether state farms operated in the black?

[Witoslawski] No, I do not. In 1987 their aggregate income was 85 billion zlotys, and now it may be 120-130 or perhaps even 200 billion zlotys. At any rate, what is known is that their income for 1988 will be too low compared with the value of their fixed capital.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] But profits depend on size of output. Well, in the last 7 years state farms lost 120,000 cows.



[Witoslawski] But during the same period we increased our milk sales by 16 percent. Average milk yield per cow on state farms climbed to 3,800 liters.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You also reduced sugar beet plantings.

[Witoslawski] Well, is there good equipment for sugar beet cultivation? We lack seeders and cultivating and harvesting machinery. No one on state farms will build such machinery manually any longer.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Your people used to build it in the past. Yet the employment level on state farms has remained unchanged for many years, amounting to about 14 persons per 100 hectares.

[Witoslawski] This is a good example of a statistical trap. Of these 14, four do field work and two care for livestock. The remainder is work in processing, construction, production and social services, and administration. As for the number of those directly employed in farm production, it has been shrinking for years.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Meaning that despite that shrinkage of personnel the output is increasing?

[Witoslawski] Yes, precisely. I have already mentioned milk. Consider also that sales of hogs on hoof by state farms increased by 23 percent.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] In comparison with what year?

[Witoslawski] Compared with 1981, i.e., the first year of the reform on state farms. On those farms the reform definitely produced good results.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Not everyone shares this opinion. The Consultative Economic Council has proposed leasing or even parceling up certain state farms.

[Witoslawski] This proposal has caused much bad blood among state farm personnel. After all, in the areas where state farms underperform, private farmers underperform too. I doubt whether any such private farmers would be interested in taking over state-farm land, and although I don't deny the possibility that some day some people might want to lease state-farm land, I know for certain that such prospective leasees would require conditions other than those in which state farms operate. Would not it be better to assure such conditions for state farms? Then every farm could be termed a "leased" farm.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Specifically, what conditions do you mean?

[Witoslawski] The point is that state farms should switch from distributing profits to distributing income, like it is done on private farms. Another matter is the failure [of laws to allow for] specific nature of farming. After all, at present the financial regulations applying to state farms

are the same as those applying to a shipyard or a barbershop. To be sure, some minor adjustments of these regulations have so far been negotiated, but this costs so much sweat and effort.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] The new government has announced its intention to abandon subsidies and introduce free procurement prices. Do you dread this?

[Witoslawski] Has any big producer ever suffered a loss owing to the introduction of free[-market] prices? We too are dreaming of a healthy economy. For example, does any one at present pay state farms for storing milk in refrigerated warehouses or consider that he saves money by not paying for the upkeep of livestock procurement stations? In our opinion, a separate decree on state farms also is needed.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Meaning?

[Witoslawski] There are laws governing forest farms; agricultural producer cooperatives are protected by the cooperative law; and private farmers are protected by a constitutional provision. [But state farms are not.] Moreover, we wish that we would stop being compared with other [cooperative, private] sectors of agriculture. Politicians should be deprived of this opportunity of roiling the masses. Unfortunately, such attempts are constantly being renewed.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] For example?

[Witoslawski] Consider the Rural Social Fund. It is so designed that if a gmina [rural township] consists of 90 percent of state farms and 10 percent of private farms, the tax discounts on sales of farm products benefit only private farmers.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Does the demonopolization of processing afford an opportunity to state farms?

[Witoslawski] This question is difficult to answer. Of a certainty, state farms cannot emulate cottage-industry techniques of farm product processing. For they lack the manpower resources required. At the other extreme, they lack sufficient funds for acquiring modern, high-capacity technologies. Besides a high-capacity technology requires access to adequate raw material inventories. For example, in Zielona Gora Voivodship a state farm planned to process 50,000 metric tons of rape even though cost-effective accounting showed that such processing can be profitable only for a minimum of 100,000 tons. It is worth noting in this connection that nonagricultural operations are important especially to the weak state farms, that is, generally speaking, to the state farms on which employment is below average so that there is a shortage of personnel for processing operations. Another aspect of this issue is that huge subsidies make food processing unattractive. This is a typical psychological barrier. People shrink from engaging in unprofitable activities.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Could you say something about the technical resources of state farms?

[Witoslawski] What is there to say? Properly speaking the only efficiently performing machinery on state farms is grain combine harvesters and dryers. As for their motor pool, its condition is deplorable. They lack farm vehicles, high-power tractors, and modern cultivating machinery. If efficient equipment were available, farm employment could be much lower. Would not it be better to manufacture up-to-date machinery instead of building costly housing for state farms?

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Mr Chairman, how do you visualize state farms in the year 2000?

[Witoslawski] That will depend on the overall pace of the changes and on whether there will be more... shocks before that year. But I think that foreign cooperation will revive and the sharing of hard currencies with exporters will be fairer, that, in short, a chance will be afforded for modern enterprises, of which a few already operate in Poland.

[Witoslawski] What do you base your hopes on?

[Witoslawski] On the potential of our personnel which, in my opinion, has reached a European level. The same level can also be attained in production by state farms.

## POLAND

### Sociologist Discusses Academic Failings, Student Frustrations

26000348 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish  
No 5, 9 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Dr Elzbieta Wnuk-Lipinska, sociologist, by Jolanta Makowska: "College Studies?"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Here is an excerpt from an appeal filed with the rector of the university: "I grew up convinced that in Poland the right to an education was guaranteed by the Constitution. I wanted to take advantage of this privilege and I met all the requirements. That is, I graduated from high school and passed the entrance examination in my chosen field of study. Despite this, I was not registered, because there was no room in that department. I therefore wanted to ask what the truth is." We asked Dr Elzbieta Wnuk-Lipinska for a statement on the subjects raised in this letter.

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] In considering the problem of educational justice at the college level, we should accept the notion that every secondary school graduate who passes an entrance examination may become a college student. The problem then arises though as to what the society or state has to offer graduates of fields of study that are open to all who desire to enter them. Will they later find jobs? How many?

The "openness" of institutions of higher education is therefore connected to the risk of not being able to meet graduates' awakened ambitions and needs, because the labor market's demand for college graduates is limited.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] But if we are to be consistent in the way we treat educational justice, we should probably let the interested parties themselves decide whether to take the risk of the possible frustration resulting from the lack of any possibility of finding a job to fit their aspirations and qualifications or, on the other hand, to avoid such disappointment.

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] Views are divided on this subject. If you allow people a choice between the two possibilities, that is, either accepting into the colleges all those applicants who passed the entrance examination or accepting for studies only the number of candidates which can later be employed in the field studied, 50 percent of the adults in Poland opt for limiting admissions, and 40 percent are in favor of "open education." The figures are just the opposite among secondary school graduates.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] And what do college scholars and instructors think?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] They tend towards the concept of "open recruitment." The selection of students would take place at the end of the first or second semester.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Which means that the university is open to the best ones?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] In this group at any rate there is a very clear and strong desire for the colleges themselves to decide on the matter of being open or limiting admissions. Arbitrary decisions by administration officials designating the number of students for each field and department spark opposition.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] The question of the degree to which Polish institutions of higher education are open is a matter of the distant future. Admissions limits are in effect and will be for the next few years. Are admissions limits a major or minor factor in the declining interest in college study?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] A few years ago about 150,000 people sat for our college entrance examinations. This year there were about 100,000 applicants, although our universities are facing a demographic peak. This declining interest in college study is most apparent among peasant youth.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Are they less interested in their own intellectual development? Don't they have any social advancement aspirations?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] The years of the Polish political, social, and economic crisis have greatly weakened the social position of people in the white-collar professions. In 1977 research was conducted by the Social Research Laboratory of the Institute of Political Science and Higher Education, which showed that for 60 percent of the people deciding to apply for admission to college, the important consideration was the fact that "Poland highly values college graduates." In 1987, only 8 percent of candidates to the colleges listed this consideration!

Today's students rate their own chances far below their colleagues of 10 years ago in terms of the possibility of having an impact on the fate of the country or of bringing new values to culture and science. They have less hope of performing attractive, independent work that is useful to others and to the development of the country. To be brief, the level of hopes attached to a future vocation and to a future job has most clearly and disturbingly declined in the sphere we call prosocial motivation.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] On the one hand limiting the number of classes taken, and, on the other hand, reducing the "pressure" of candidates to institutions of higher education. Does this mean that things have reached anticipated and intended outcomes?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] In Poland, access to higher study has never been too great. If we accept Martin Trow's definition, by which you can talk about "mass" education at the postsecondary level only when 15 percent of the young people graduating from secondary schools receive college registration cards, then Poland only reached the category of mass higher education during the 1970's. During the 1950's we accepted 8-9 percent of secondary school graduates. Now about 10 percent of our 19-year-olds are staying in school. So, talking about a decline in the number of students in terms of the percentage of people interested in college study, we have to take into account the fact that we have never come up to other advanced countries in terms of the percentage of people with college degrees. For example, in France more than 20 percent of the young people of each age cohort begins study at the university level. In the United States, the figure is over 30 percent.

Our "base of selection" for the intellectual elite upon which the nation's intellectual level and cultural level are based is therefore poorer.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Given such a small number of admissions, with competitive examinations for many fields, one might expect that we would have only the very good and distinguished students in our colleges. Meanwhile, most of those passing our examinations exhibit a disturbingly low level of knowledge and interest.

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] Some 64 percent of university employees and nearly 85 percent of technical university employees say that one of the major barriers to their instruction is the low level of students' ability, their lack of interest in learning, and their slipshod approach to work. Unfortunately, these critical opinions of college teachers are entirely justified. Students usually attend only the required classes. They seldom attend scientific conferences. My word! They don't even read professional periodicals and books.

Compared to the results of the research conducted in 1977 and 1987, it turns out that this disturbing and sorry tendency showing that college youth is less committed to acquiring knowledge is becoming still stronger.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Why is it that young people who often are so determined in the struggle for test scores stop showing interest in studying the moment they become college students?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] A good percentage of young people choose college study, because it is a family tradition that "it is better to have a college degree than not to have one," that after graduation from college there will be a greater opportunity to choose one's future. Nor is it unimportant that studying allows one to extend the years of youth, to defer taking a job and becoming independent. There are therefore more and more students who enter college not with the idea of a future job or social position but rather to satisfy their own intellectual needs and ambitions.

Besides that, the secondary schools are not preparing pupils well enough to meet the requirements the colleges set. We know that one pupil in a class of secondary school graduates out of every three receives tutoring. But the main purpose of these paid classes after school is to prepare young people for the entrance examinations, not for independent mental work or research to satisfy an inquiring mind, both of which are essential, or at least desirable, in college.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] But during the course of college studies can't one acquire and develop these characteristics? Can't college employees "make up" for the neglect of the secondary school?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] I don't know if they are unable to, but the research shows that they aren't doing it. During the 10 years that separates the research conducted, students became more dissatisfied with the program of college studies, with the difficulties (or inability) to gain access to required literature. Assessments which the students made of instructors also declined. This applies both to the level of lectures and to the relationship between college teachers and students. After all, the college employees themselves do not say that they are doing a good job of carrying out their teaching tasks. As many as 75 percent of university employees and 65 percent of technical university employees prefer research. This comes as no surprise, though, because the results of teaching have a negligible impact on the way an academic employee is judged or on promotion.

[PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] Let's assume that the secondary schools are doing a good job of preparing candidates for higher study, that the college teachers are willing and able to become masters on the road of knowledge for the students. Are these sufficient conditions for young people to become more interested in study, in acquiring professional qualifications and improving them?

[Dr Wnuk-Lipinska] These are necessary conditions rather than sufficient ones. For it to be worth learning, you have to be convinced that something important depends on your grades, for example, the chance of getting an interesting job, earnings, being useful to society, and so on. In Western countries, grades and how you place determine where you work, what you do, and how much you make. For such a situation to exist in our country, we need broader and deeper changes than a simple reform in the system or the curriculum. We have to change the political, economic, and social system, so that acquiring and performing vocations requiring top qualifications produce a feeling that your job makes sense and is useful, as well as making it possible to earn on a level commensurate with your knowledge and skill.

*Editorial Note: Taking into account the demands being made by the scientific community, the Minister of National Education is planning to make certain changes in the requirements concerning the minimum and maximum*

*number of classes permitted during the freshman year. In the so-called deficient majors, the minister is to set the minimum, the rectors the maximum. For other majors, the colleges will set the limits.*



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